

The model
strike against
Pittston

Page 8

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POLITICS UNUSUAL

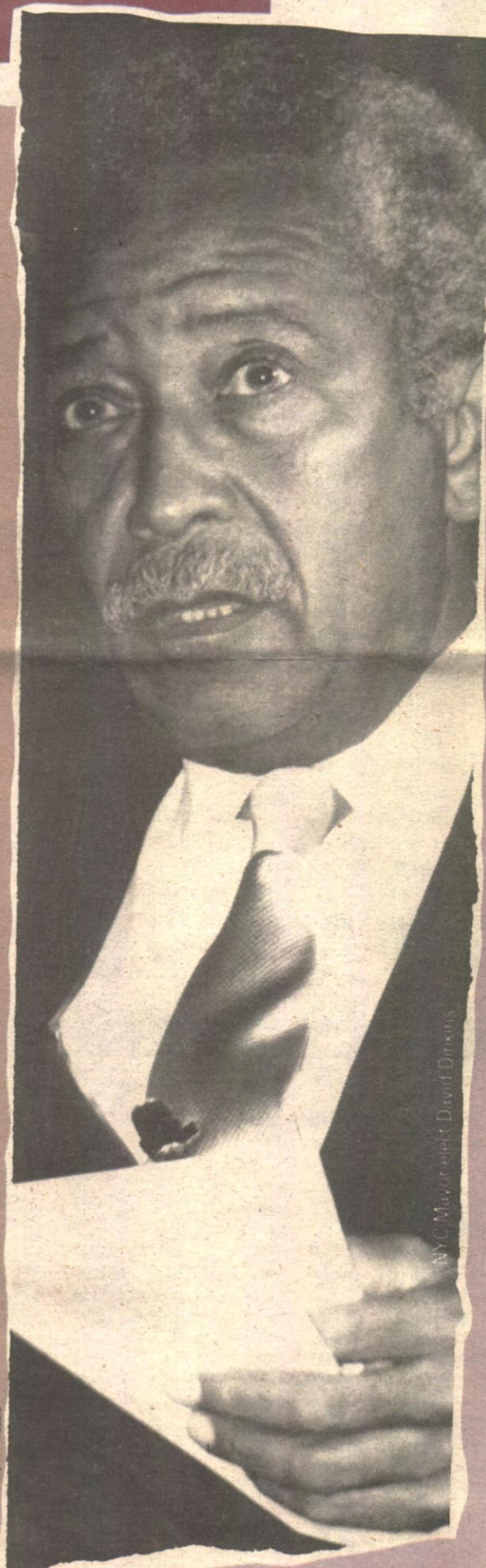


New Jersey Governor-elect James Florio

Republicans
go down in
New Jersey
and Virginia
page 6



Virginia Governor-elect Douglas Wilder



NYC Mayor-elect David Dinkins

A slim victory in
New York City
page 7

Eastern upheaval puts hard spin on West Germany's coalition politics

By Diana Johnstone

The momentous upheavals in Eastern Europe add to the interest in elections to be held a year from now in West Germany, whose influence in the region is fast becoming dominant. Whether a Bonn government is conservative or tinged with Social Democratic "red" and Green can make a difference in the historic evolutions underway.

Recent controversy over preparations for Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland pointed up the danger that conservatives will try to use West Germany's financial power to pursue nationalist goals. Poles were upset over plans for Kohl to attend a Catholic Mass at Annaberg in Silesia, where in 1921 a majority of the local population voted to remain German in a post-Versailles Treaty border-setting referendum and Germans defeated Polish armed attempts to claim the territory. Kohl's selection of this symbolic site was a concession to the powerful "Vertriebene" organizations of ethnic Germans driven out of Eastern Europe at the end of World War II. The Silesian Germans, a huge lobby within Christian Democratic politics, still want Silesia back from Poland.

The concern recently expressed by Lech Walesa that reform in East Germany was moving too fast toward German reunification can be explained by these claims. In 1970, Social Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt signed the Warsaw Treaty recognizing the Oder-Neisse border between East Germany and Poland. But the treaty is binding only on West Germany—and not on any all-German government that might emerge from reunification. The West German right seems ready to make demands in return for the money the country will pour into Poland.

The Social Democrats and the Greens would approach Eastern Europe without such nationalist pretensions, keeping in mind what Germany did to the region in World War II. A "Red-Green" coalition in Bonn would mean a truly kinder, gentler Germany. But a Red-Green coalition still looks like a long shot. Somewhat likelier is what Germans have been calling a "traffic light" coalition of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the Greens along with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's Free Democratic Party (FDP) as the yellow "caution" in the middle.

For one thing, although the Christian Democrats have been losing votes to the nationalist far-right Republicans, the SPD and the Greens do not yet have a majority. For another, although it is getting ready to campaign for "ecological restructuring," which sounds like a perfect Red-Green coalition slogan, SPD leaders don't want to govern with the Greens, or at least not with the Greens alone. The Greens, however, have largely come around to the idea of coalition with the SPD. Now the issue dividing pro-coalition "Realos" and the others is coalition with the FDP as well.

From green to red: Early this month the Green Party's top "promi" (a lightly disparaging term for a prominent person), lawyer Otto Schily, resigned his Bundestag seat to join the SPD. If Schily had defected to the SPD two years ago, as many expected him to do, it would have been seen as a dangerous escalation in the "Realo-Fundi" (realist-fundamentalist) factional battle threatening to tear the Green Party apart. But when Schily finally made the switch, the ease with which the Greens shrugged it off showed that the Realo-Fundi feud has lost its sting. Personal incompatibility was grounds enough for the Schily-Greens divorce. Schily was a bourgeois liberal gentleman who wasted less and less of his charm on his Green colleagues, whom he tended to treat as upstarts who failed to give him his due.

This failure culminated with the decision of the Green Party in North Rhine Westphalia to respect its irregularly observed principle of "rotation" in office by not nominating anyone for a third term in the Bundestag. That meant Schily would not be asked to repeat his electoral success in Düsseldorf. Annoyed, he resigned for an uncertain chance at an SPD seat next year.

In a party of self-assertive individualists, Schily was an extreme case. The party's left said it was shedding no tears at his departure, although Schily's image may be missed during elections. Joschka Fischer, who remains as top Realo and media favorite, pointed out that Schily had made the Greens attractive to an influential left-liberal sector of voters. A skillful lawyer, Schily's investigation of the Flick scandal, involving illegal contributions to the FDP, probably helped win former FDP voters over to the Greens.

Schily and Fischer were both among the select handful of prominent Greens invited early last summer by a progressive nobleman, Count Hermann Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, for private conversations with prominent SPD leaders at his castle. The Crottorf Castle talks naturally aroused protests from other Greens that the "promis" were dealing over the heads of the base. The public results did not appear particularly fruitful. Green Bundestag defense specialist Alfred Mechtersheimer, who was among the Crottorf Castle guests, later published a paper distinguishing analogous, controversial and incompatible defense-policy positions, in search of overlapping places where a red-green compromise might be possible. A Social Democrat who was also among the chosen few at Crottorf, Karsten Voigt, promptly threw cold water on this tentative probe for common ground. Voigt called Mechtersheimer's approach "superficial," since coalition must express fundamental accord, and stressed the basic incompatibility of Green pacifist convictions with the preparation of a military budget—any military budget.

To what extent this sort of exchange may be calculated to reject or, on the other hand, to "educate" the Greens toward accepting SPD positions is hard to tell. Green member Petra Kelly is an isolated voice in her indignant objections to the party's acceptance of NATO to accommodate the SPD. The disappearance of the Soviet threat has also sharply diminished perception of the NATO threat, while a handful of Realos have been defending NATO as a stabilizing force against the threat of German nationalism.

The agenda is greener: The SPD call for ecological restructuring is a sign of the tremendous ideological success of the Greens in getting others to put green issues at the top of the agenda. The probable SPD candidate for chancellor, Oskar Lafontaine, is a specialist in his own Saarland in defeating Greens with green ideas, and he would no doubt like to do the same on the national level.

The key to the SPD program is the Ecotax, which is divided into two categories. The first is a hike in taxes on

consumer petroleum products, mainly gasoline, that will add 32.8 billion marks (a little less than half as many dollars) to the treasury to be used for social redistribution: raising the basic income-tax deduction and contributing to various social-welfare payments. A second category of taxes to be levied against emission of atmospheric pollution, disposable beverage containers, toxic waste and the like will raise about eight billion marks. This money is to be used for environmental investments, notably to promote environmentally sound transportation.

The Green Ecotax program is more ambitious. In a recent SPD-Green debate on the Ecotax in the business magazine *Wirtschaft Woche*, Green Bundestag member Christa Vennegerts criticized the SPD project for writing into the social budget a source of revenue that, if it succeeds, should diminish. In other words, a real Ecotax on gasoline, as opposed to the gas taxes that have always existed, should both dissuade people from driving and at the same time be used to offer them an alternative. Thus the Green proposal is to raise 25 billion marks from increased gasoline taxes to be used wholly to extend public transportation. Vennegerts said the Greens also wanted to raise social benefits, but not from the Ecotax part of the budget. In addition, the Greens call for raising 25 billion marks from a primary energy tax on nuclear power, oil, coal and natural gas to be used for financing conversion to other energies. They also demand some 33 billion marks in more punitive taxes on environmentally damaging production such as packaging, atmospheric emissions, chemicals and so on, to be used to finance environmentally sound technology as well as an environmental damage fund and the rehabilitation and extension of canal networks and purification plants.

In response to the Green proposal, the SPD's Ingrid Matthäus-Maier made three points: Green measures would

INSIDE STORY

require a "gigantic bureaucracy," they would impede West Germany's competitiveness in the European single market, and such exaggerated measures "cannot get a majority." The timidity of her arguments reflect the SPD's effort to win business support in view of an eventual coalition with the FDP—or even a "grand coalition" with the Christian Democrats.

But this pro-business orientation is eroding the SPD's historic constituency in the trade unions. Some unionists complain that the SPD's recent enthusiasm for women's equality and ecology are just diversions from its abandonment of the working class. As a result, the vanguard of the labor movement is showing a fresh interest in the Greens. This is an interesting development, since initially the Greens' anti-growth and anti-productivist positions aroused automatic labor hostility. A guest speaker at the congress of the metalworkers union, IGMetall, in West Berlin late last month was former autoworker and Green Bundestag member Willy Hoss, who had been expelled from IGMetall 17 years ago for his radical opposition. Hoss, the first Green to address an IGMetall congress, called for an ecologically-oriented "co-determination" to give labor a say in the contents and purposes of production against capitalist concentration and powerful arms contractors like Daimler-MBB. The congress thereupon voted to extend IGMetall statutes on peace, disarmament and international understanding to "protection of the natural environment to ensure the survival of humanity." Even the sacrosanct auto industry is to come under scrutiny of the union in search of a conception of ecological transformation of transport.

In his policy speech to the congress, IGMetall leader Franz Steinkühler acknowledged that the Greens have become a serious political force, "on the way from political protest to political formulation." IGMetall is "ready for sensible political cooperation with the Greens," he said, obliquely warning the SPD that it can never have a majority if it neglects labor.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: West Germany's upcoming elections	2
CIA seeks authority without responsibility	3
In Short	4
Florio trounces Coulter, Wilder edges Coleman	6
A first for New York	7
The United Mine Workers' well-managed strike	8
Pinochet is going, but not very far	10
Cracking the "genetic fingerprint" code	12
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Austerity from Harvard with love	16
No blank check for Salvadoran oppression	16
Drug capitalism's links with the legal kind	17
In Print: Michael Harrington's American socialism	18
Spiritual warfare promotes hell on Earth	19
In the Arts: Situationist art show and tell	20
Classifieds/Life in Hell	23
ABCs of bureaucratic schooling	24

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By Jim Naureckas

WASHINGTON

AT FIRST GLANCE, A RECENT WHITE HOUSE leak of classified material appeared to be an attempt to deflect criticism of the Bush administration's performance during the October 3 aborted coup against Panama's Gen. Manuel Noriega. But on closer examination, the leak may have been part of a deliberate strategy to remove what restrictions remain on the covert operations of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and give legal backing to agency involvement in targeted killings.

"The Bush administration is using the Panama situation to push for across-the-board authority regarding assassinations," argues Ralph McGehee, a former CIA officer. "All the things that are happening are a way of gearing up the CIA for a return to the glory days of the '50s and '60s."

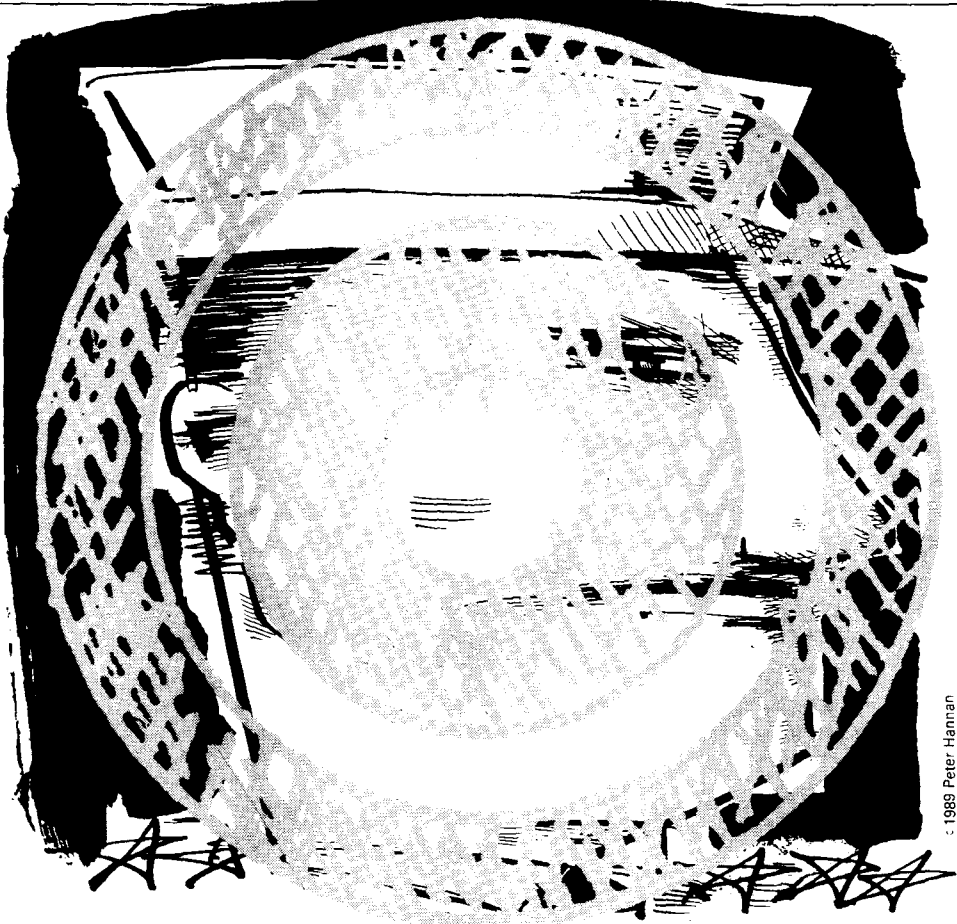
The classified material President George Bush released on October 17 was correspondence between the Reagan White House and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence regarding a potential 1988 coup against Noriega. In secret communication the White House and the committee agreed that the CIA would not support an October 1988 plot, primarily because it seemed to have little chance of success, but also because the plan was deemed likely to result in Noriega's death. Both parties acknowledged that backing a coup that would probably result in the death of a foreign leader would violate longstanding executive orders forbidding assassination.

After leaking the classified material, however, Bush and CIA Director William Webster described the correspondence as a unilateral Senate edict that could be interpreted to mean that the targets of U.S.-sponsored coups would have to be informed in advance if their lives might be threatened. Although the CIA's deputy directors for both operations and intelligence later denied that the 1988 agreement had hampered them in any way during this year's anti-Noriega military revolt, Bush publicly implied that Congress' "micromanagement" had foiled the recent coup.

Struggle over oversight: If that were all there were to the story, it would be merely another example of President Bush using the same Lee Atwater-style campaign tactics that got him elected. But the leak served a larger purpose beyond protecting the president from charges that he "lost Panama."

Bush's leak was a sneak attack in an ongoing battle between Capitol Hill and the administration—particularly the CIA—over what role, if any, Congress should have in overseeing covert activity. By shifting embarrassment over the Panama issue from the White House to the Senate, Bush forced the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence to withdraw plans for a statutory requirement that all CIA covert operations be reported to Congress within 48 hours.

In exchange, Bush said he intends in the future to inform the committee in advance about covert operations in all but "rare cases." He reserved, however, the presumed presidential right to permanently conceal CIA activities. "It's a classic extreme executive position: 'We have all the power and you have none,'" says Gary Stern of the American Civil Liberties Union's Center for National Security Studies. The "com-



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CIA pushes for ambiguities in 'accidental' killing law

promise" maintains the same requirement for "timely" notification that former President Ronald Reagan used to delay telling Congress about the Iran arms deals until the sales were disclosed in the Lebanese press.

By putting the Senate committee on the defensive, the CIA was able to announce new assassination guidelines without fear of a congressional backlash. CIA Director Webster told the *Washington Post* that the new standards forbid only plans with the explicit goal, rather than the likelihood, of killing political leaders. But past CIA activities indicate that Webster's formulation could once again legitimize CIA-backed murders.

In the first decades of the CIA's history, assassination of Communist leaders such as Fidel Castro was a preoccupation at the agency—there was even a "Health Alteration Committee" at one point that oversaw such matters. But the CIA has always denied responsibility for the deaths of foreign leaders, even when investigators have uncovered elaborate agency murder plans.

Altered states: The Congo's Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, the Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujillo and Chilean Gen. Rene Schneider were all killed by people backed by the CIA during coups or "kidnappings," but in each case the CIA blamed the deaths on rogue agents or explained them away as accidents.

After Watergate and congressional investigations of the CIA in the '70s, attempts were made to rein in some of the more unpalatable excesses of the agency. The first executive order forbidding involvement in assassinations was issued by President Gerald Ford in 1976, when Bush was CIA director. Under President Jimmy Carter, the agency was less involved in covert operations than during

any time in its history.

Because Carter tried to rein in the CIA, many intelligence officers opposed his reelection and welcomed newly elected Ronald Reagan's nomination of William Casey as CIA director. A veteran of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the CIA's free-wheeling predecessor, Casey had a well-deserved reputation as a "cowboy" who would get things done by ignoring congressional restrictions. From issuing a contra manual calling for the "neutralization" of Nicaraguan officials to supporting the 1985 bombing attempt on Lebanese Shi'ite leader Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah—which left 80 dead—the CIA under Casey ignored the executive orders that forbade agency-sponsored assassinations.

The desire of intelligence officials to be able to take lethal action has not changed from Reagan to Bush. "Assassination is the dot on the 'i' or the cross on the 't' for them," says Louis Wolf, co-editor of the *Washington*,

Whatever the legal framework, the CIA will probably find a way to keep using assassination as a covert tactic.

D.C.-based *Covert Action Information Bulletin*. "It's one of many options." What has changed under Bush is that Webster, a former judge, is far more interested than his predecessor in getting legal backing for killings. "Casey would never have raised the issue—he'd have just gone ahead and done it," says McGehee.

A former CIA officer, McGehee is now a harsh

critic of the intelligence community and argues that the public debate over the assassination guidelines reflects the fact that neither Congress nor the CIA wants to accept full responsibility for covert killings. "Top officials in the agency do not want a clear-cut charter to conduct assassinations," he says. "What Webster is asking for is the writing-in of ambiguities." Legislators, on the other hand, want to protect their own "deniability" to avoid blame for future political embarrassments.

Justifying the unthinkable: A memo released last April to *Defense Week*, a Washington-based newsletter, illustrates that the Bush administration has developed a legal justification for targeting individuals for elimination. Written by Gen. Hugh Overholt, the Army's judge advocate general, the document defines "assassination" as "an act of murder for political purposes," then notes that killing an individual in "self-defense" is not murder. The memo concludes that "pre-emptive self-defense" against "individuals whose activities constitute a direct threat to U.S. citizens or U.S. national security" would not be forbidden by the rules against assassination, which were intended only "to preclude unilateral action by individual agents or agencies against selected foreign public officials."

The memo, distributed for approval to the CIA and the State Department, contemplates attacks against the drug industry: those who are "aiding and abetting international criminal activity" are specifically mentioned as targets of U.S. military action. Overholt also calls for attacks against "terrorists," a category that in administration terminology includes guerrilla movements such as the FMLN in El Salvador and the African National Congress.

These forces, rather than Communist governments, would be the most likely focus of federal hit squads in the post-Cold War '90s. Often the two categories are merged by government hard-liners. Knight-Ridder's Frank Greve reported last June that drug czar William Bennett "strongly advocate[s] 'pro-active strikes' against 'narco-terrorists.'"

The CIA has already set up narcotics and terrorism task forces so that it will not be left behind as *glasnost* spurs the U.S. government to adopt new bogeymen. "They've built this massive paramilitary apparatus," says former CIA officer McGehee. "To justify themselves, they have to conduct covert operations."

Whatever the legal framework, the CIA will probably find a way to continue using assassination as a covert tactic, and Congress will probably once again look the other way. "Oversight has been very lax at best," says McGehee. "You [CIA officers] never tell the intelligence committees the truth—but they don't particularly want to know the truth."

To some, the most disturbing thing about the assassination issue is the matter-of-fact way coups and covert violence are accepted as legitimate foreign-policy tools. "The executive and legislative branches," says David MacMichael, Washington director of the Association of National Security Alumni, "have reached that point of moral blindness where anything the U.S. wishes to do is ipso facto moral."

Jim Naureckas is managing editor of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs' *Washington Report on the Hemisphere*.

IN THESE TIMES NOVEMBER 15-21, 1989 3

She's in the Army now

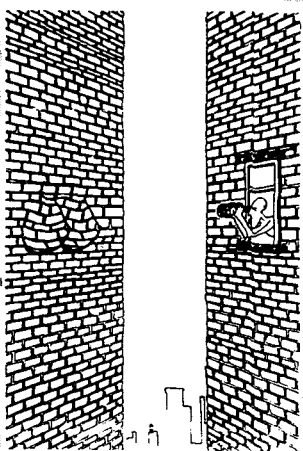
This past summer Barbie, that blond piece of poised plastic, joined up. Jocelyn Carter-Miller, vice president of Barbie marketing for Mattel, Inc., puts it this way: "Barbie is a reality-based doll. She has to represent the goals and aspirations of the little girls who play with her." Though she does not wear replicas of official U.S. military issue, according to military experts, Army Barbie looks very much like a captain in evening-dress uniform. An *Army Times* editorial observed, "As you might suspect, the Pentagon has been involved from the beginning."

Wanna play with my gun?

Now that Barbie is in the service, she and G.I. Joe might see some action together. They are, after all, both dolls, despite the Hasbro company's attempt to classify G.I. Joe as a toy soldier and thus avoid paying the 12 percent import tariff on dolls. (Although all-American, this boy toy is molded in Hong Kong). As the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled, G.I. Joe is not an action figure, mannequin, or flexible plastic figurine; he is a doll. But hey, boys, don't worry. Donald Robbins, Hasbro vice president, wants to let you know that "G.I. Joe is still one of the guys."

Skeletons hanging in the closet

William Dannemeyer, the Republican congressman from Disneyland, has found an administration ally in his effort to repudiate the Department of Health and Human Services' recently released "Youth Suicide Report" ("In Short," Oct. 18). According to the study, gay and lesbian youth may comprise up to 30 percent of the 5,000 15- to 24-year-olds who commit suicide each year. The report calls for an end to discrimination against youth on the basis of sexual orientation. Dannemeyer charges that the report is a direct attack on traditional family values, and Louis W. Sullivan, the Health and Human Services secretary, agrees. In a written response to the congressman's ravings, Sullivan says, "The views expressed in the paper entitled 'Gay Male and Lesbian Youth Suicide' do not in any way represent my personal beliefs or the policy of the department. I am strongly committed to advancing traditional family values. Federal policies must be crafted with great care so as to strengthen rather than undermine the institution of the family. In my opinion, the views expressed in the paper run contrary to that aim." In an angry response, Urvashi Vaid, the executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, wrote Sullivan saying, "We believe strong family values have traditionally meant the nurturing, affirmation, protection and understanding of young people, not their alienation and stigmatization. We believe, as we hope you do, that suicide and violence are not family values."



Built like a brick ...

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) has an ally at the State University of New York (SUNY) College in Old Westbury—College President Eudora Pettigrew. Pettigrew recently censored a postcard that was to announce an exhibit by Colombian artist Alfredo Garzon. Garzon told the *New Art Examiner*, "I was notified that the invitation cards were printed but not mailed because the drawing [on the card] did not meet SUNY's decency regulations and was considered offensive to womanhood."

In protest, exhibit organizer Luis Camnitzer, an artist and Latin American art historian, resigned, sending a letter which said, in part, "I do not see the veto of the invitation serving the cause of the dignity of the female body but [rather] catering to the politics of Sen. Helms. It is unimportant if the service is performed because of illiteracy, ideological kinship or fear. No matter which of these considerations is guiding the action, all the possible implications fail to fit my idea of our college."

Boy oh boy

Helms' moral crusade against obscene art has given a group known as Boy with Arms Akimbo a chance to make some political hay. The San Francisco-based organization has put out a



Cesar Vielman Joya Martinez used to be a member of El Salvador's First Infantry Brigade's intelligence unit. "My job was only to kill," says the 28-year-old death-squad deserter. On the right, he stands next to a van in which he and other Salvadoran soldiers murdered several people. He claims two U.S. military advisers provided money to purchase the van, which is specially equipped with extras like black glass. Joya Martinez is currently seeking political asylum in the U.S.

Blood money: assassin says he slit throats while U.S. wrote checks

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Outraged by the October 31 bombing of a union office that killed 10 people, Salvadoran labor leaders and the leftist Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) immediately blamed the armed forces and the right-wing government of President Alfredo Cristiani.

Those allegations were bolstered the next day in Washington by a Salvadoran army deserter who told journalists that the San Carlos army barracks in San Salvador housed a special unit of military hit men.

Cesar Vielman Joya Martinez, 28, says he was a member of the First Infantry Brigade's intelligence unit. He was initially in charge of capturing suspected leftist subversives and gathering information from informants. Later he was promoted to a special hit squad within the intelligence unit that executed prisoners after they had been interrogated. He says his job was to kill prisoners, mask the army's involvement in the murders and then dispose of the bodies.

"My job was only to kill," he says, claiming that the murders were conducted on the written orders of the First Infantry Brigade commander, Col. Francisco Elena Fuentes.

Joya Martinez says he participated in eight of the more than 70 death-squad executions that the First Brigade conducted during the first seven months of 1989. He usually strangled his victims, slit their throats or injected them with

poison. The hit squad was under strict orders not to kill with firearms, because the bullets might be traced back to the military.

"Have you ever seen the look on the face of someone as you cut their throat?" he asks. "I know I cannot bring back the dead, but I can stop [the death squads] from continuing to operate in the same way."

Joya Martinez claims he was forced to flee El Salvador after a failed operation publicly linked the First Brigade to the death squads. His superiors were, he says, setting him up to be the fall guy so they could murder him and provide deniability for the bungled operation.

He also says the hit squad operated with the tacit support of two U.S. military officers who worked in the intelligence unit's headquarters. He says the U.S. officers helped finance the group's activities by writing checks for its operating expenses.

Although the U.S. officers were briefed on the intelligence unit's activities, they were not given reports on the executions, Joya Martinez says, adding that the Americans appeared unwilling to know about the operations they were funding.

"We provided them with copies of all the reports from our agents on clandestine captures, interrogations, the results of interrogations, other operations," he said. "But we did not provide them with reports on the executions. They did not want to hear of the actual killings."

According to Joya Martinez, when the death squad's civilian vehicles began to draw attention inside the intelligence unit's restricted compound, the U.S. officers agreed to rent a safe house for the assassination unit. But, he adds, the U.S. advisers

did not want to know how it would be used. "I do not believe the American advisers could not have known what we were doing," he says. "They funded everything we did."

U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador William Walker calls the allegations serious and says he has asked Salvadoran officials to investigate them. He told the *Washington Post*, "We have been encouraging the government and armed forces to get to the bottom of them."

But he denies that any U.S. advisers knew about the killings. "I know that is not true, and it makes me question the rest of the allegations."

Salvadoran military officers portray Joya Martinez as a liar out to save his own skin. "He is an assassin, a deserter and a thief. He fled when he found the high command was seriously investigating him," says Col. Elena Fuentes, whom Joya Martinez accused of ordering the death-squad operations.

But the statements from both Ambassador Walker and Salvadoran authorities are disingenuous at best.

The Salvadoran armed forces have been linked to countless death-squad killings throughout the decade. But they have never tried and convicted a military officer for the torture or assassination of civilians.

Given the armed forces' reluctance to investigate their own troops, the rightist nature of the Cristiani government and the U.S. Embassy's past support of the Salvadoran military, the ambassador's request that the military "get to the bottom" of Joya Martinez' allegations can scarcely be expected to generate an impartial investigation or bring to justice Salvadoran soldiers who order or conduct assassinations of civilians. —David Bates

The reluctant candidate

SANTIAGO, CHILE—This city's polluted spring has been enlivened by Chile's first presidential campaign in more than 19 years. Chile's last parliamentary election was in March 1973, when Chileans went to the polls to elect Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government by a slim majority. That victory convinced the opposition and the military that a coup was the only way to remove Allende.

After 16 years of one of the bloodiest and most repressive dictatorships in Latin America, the transition to democracy is going remarkably smoothly. Against every prediction, Augusto Pinochet accepted defeat in last October's plebiscite and has pledged to retire as president. Against every expectation, the right faces a united opposition coalition of 16 parties, ranging from moderate conservatives to Marxist-Leninists, that on July 5 nominated Patricio Aylwin, a Christian Democrat, as its presidential candidate. According to every poll, Aylwin will win the election by a comfortable margin.

Not that the right didn't try. After almost 16 years of sharing power and uncritical support for the military regime and all its policies, the Chilean right—now piously calling itself "center-right"—is desperately trying to regroup after nasty internal disputes and to present Hernan Büchi, Pinochet's former finance minister, as a winning candidate for the December 14 presidential elections.

Büchi, 40, eccentric wunderkind of Chile's monetarist "economic miracle" and darling of Chilean yuppies, made a surprise return as presidential candidate on July 12 after meeting with Pinochet. In May, he had stunned supporters by an-

nouncing that an "existential contradiction" to being a candidate was forcing him to drop out of the race.

But his supporters mounted a lavish campaign under the slogan "keeping the light of hope lit." The country was inundated with posters, banners and millions of leaflets emblazoned with a single shining star that promised to lead the Chilean right to the promised land. The vast amount of leaflets were happily collected by Santiago's legions of paper-pickers, making that campaign the most effective "trickle-down" for which Büchi was responsible.

Büchi would be an odd political bird anywhere. More so in conservative Chilean society. He is a health nut with an angular face and a Prince Valiant haircut who jogs several miles a day and loves mountain climbing. A man with an irregular family situation, various stories about Büchi's sexual life abound. He does not read newspapers or wear a watch. Incapable of making decisions, he is painfully shy. He is an agnostic in a predominantly Catholic country. He is also a dreadful public speaker and will go to any length to avoid the press. The list of his political liabilities seems interminable.

But perhaps his most important liability is his Pinochet connection. While Büchi says that in his youth he sympathized with the left, since 1985 he has been Pinochet's finance minister and, as such, the principal architect of the bare-knuckles, free-market economic model imposed on the country. He was responsible for the systematic shrinking of every social service in the country and for economic policies that have pauperized the many and enriched the few. Before the campaign began, Büchi was never a critic of the government's human-rights abuses but is now

distancing himself from the government with the novel defense that he was too young to know what was going on.

Nevertheless, Büchi arouses the uncritical fervor of a sector of the Chilean right that is willing to forgive and forget everything in the name of economic continuity. To them, the retiring, reluctant candidate is charismatic. His presence makes well-coiffed, righteous Chilean women swoon and young businessmen open their wallets. They are willing to lose this election to affirm their free-market faith.

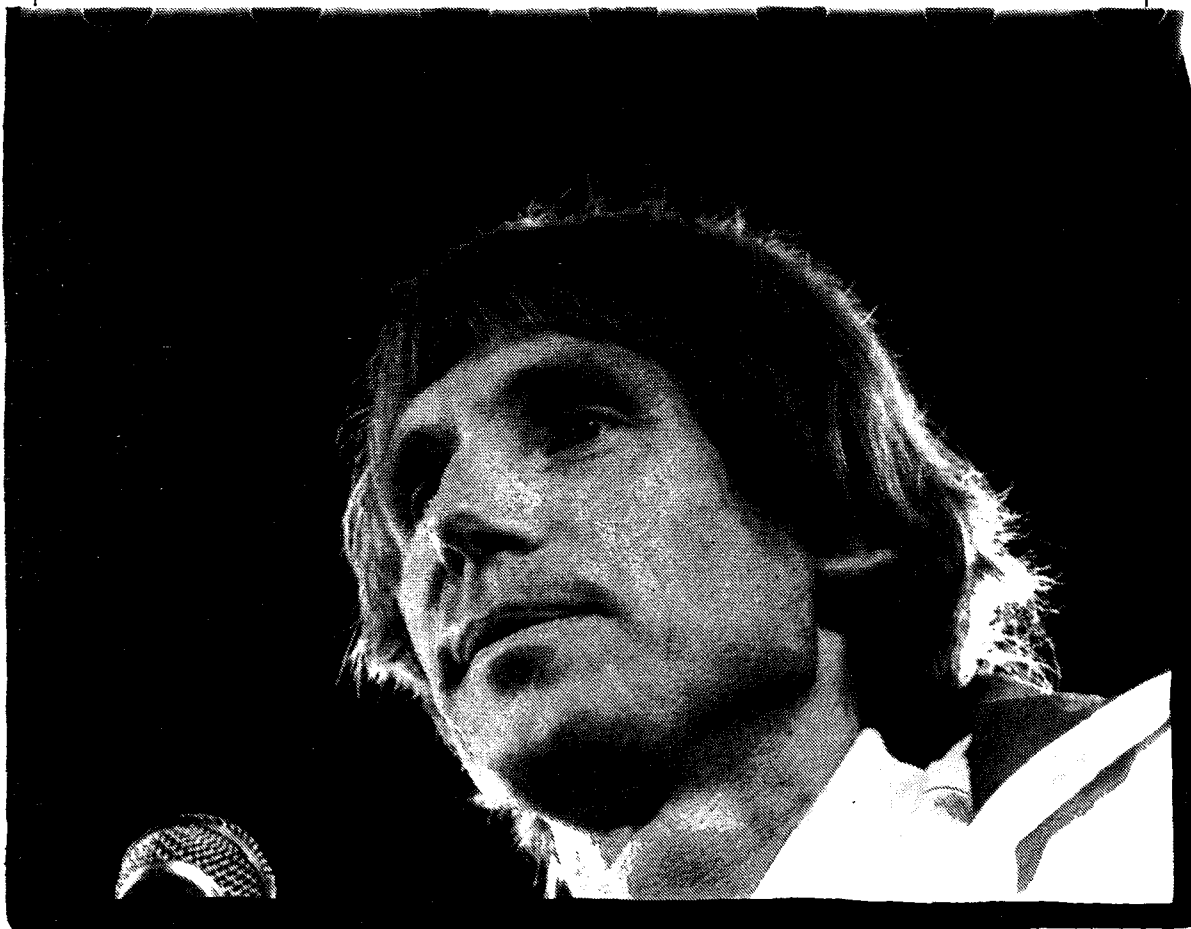
An official of Renovacion Nacional, the largest party of the political right, who wished to remain anonymous, told *In These Times* that Büchi "represents an expression of authoritarian culture" that is unwilling to accept the role of political parties and "does not take into account the possibility of an electoral defeat implicit in democracy."

Despite his numerous handicaps, Büchi has some points in his favor. He has an image of cool, technocratic efficiency as the person who implemented an economic model that has given the country an aura of prosperity. His youth, informality, honesty and disinterest for party politics could be appealing to some sectors. But perhaps his most important asset is his unrestricted access to funds from grateful businessmen.

There is a bitter irony in this upcoming election. Aylwin, one of the main opposition leaders to Allende, is now the candidate of the left and center, opposing a government he helped install. Büchi, who reputedly was a leftist sympathizer at the time of the coup, is now the candidate for the continuation of Pinochet's policies. Maybe Aylwin has learned something. It's unclear whether Büchi has.

—Marcelo Montecino

Hernan Büchi, wunderkind of the Chilean right.



series of posters depicting nude men and women. Ostensibly this is their public statement against the congressional passage of Helms' obscenity amendment. ("In Short," September 6.) But the Boy with Arms Akimbo poster campaign fails to reveal that the artworks the group is most concerned with protecting, and promoting, are photographs of sexually aroused pre-pubescent boys. This may lead the cynical to wonder if it wasn't a publicity-minded pederast from Boy with Arms Akimbo who complained a couple weeks ago to the Yale University police about the poster- ing of the group's anti-Helms artwork at a gay and lesbian scholars conference. The police grossly overreacted, and in the fracas that followed nine conference participants were arrested.

Glasnost busters

A couple weeks ago, "In Short" reported that the CIA has historically worked to stoke nationalist revolt in the Baltic Republics. It appears that job may have now been taken over by another agency. The Moscow Book Fair debut of John Le Carré's latest spook story, *The Russian House*, was marked by a public debate between former KGB Col. Igor Prelin and his former Italian adversary, Gen. Ambrogio Viviani. According to the Paris-based *Intelligence Newsletter*, Viviani told the audience, "We know that a good part of the nationalist movements are backed by those in the KGB who want things to stay as they are."

The triumph of capitalism

The Communist systems in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are disintegrating. Strike up the band. Democracy and the free market have triumphed. To the victors go the spoils. Take 1988, which was another record-breaking year for the rich in America. According to the Washington-based Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the gap between rich and poor Americans has now reached its widest point since the end of World War II. U.S. Census Bureau statistics show that last year the poorest fifth of Americans received 4.6 percent of the total national family income while the richest fifth received 44 percent of total national family income. In 1988 the number of Americans who were officially poor stood at 31.9 million—13.1 percent of the total population. (The official poverty line is \$9,435 for a family of three.) Further, 12.8 million Americans—5.2 percent of the population—have incomes that are less than half the poverty line (below \$4,718 for a family of three). Children are especially affected. Census figures show that 44.1 percent of black children and 37.8 percent of Hispanic children enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness while living in poverty.

Slaves of one master

The rich give a lower proportion of their income to charity than does the rest of the population. The accounting firm Ernst and Young and the market-research company Yankelovich, Clancy and Shulman studied the philanthropic impulses of about 800 Americans whose household incomes exceeded \$100,000 a year. It was discovered that these wealthy people gave an average of 1.5 percent of their income (\$3,010 on average) to charity. Nationally, Americans as a whole give 2.4 percent of their income to charity. According to the Census Bureau, 2.2 percent of U.S. households have incomes over \$100,000. That 2.2 percent also owns about one-third of the nation's wealth. According to *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, the report's authors think that the rich are stingy because the process of capital accumulation has made them anxious about money and consequently less willing to give it away.

Ithaca elects socialist mayor

"I think we're going to start a new era in the city of Ithaca," socialist city alderman Ben Nichols told a cheering crowd shortly after it became clear his red/green coalition had won a narrow victory in that New York city's mayoral race last week. Dave Lindorff reports that Nichols, 69, beat Republican Jean Cookingham by 52 to 48 percent. The surprisingly tight race can probably be attributed to endorsements of Cookingham by Ithaca's local newspapers and to her own last-minute red-baiting. In a half-page ad in the *Ithaca Journal* on election eve, Cookingham dredged up a three-year-old newspaper interview with Nichols that was headlined "Ithaca's City Hall Socialist." In that article Nichols was asked why, since he so often supported Democratic candidates, he didn't just declare himself a Democrat. He responded, "Never!" In her ad, Cookingham wondered whether Nichols believes "that socialism now represents the political mainstream." In Ithaca it apparently does.

POLITICS



Virginia Governor-elect Douglas Wilder: the abortion issue helped him win, but his race lost him votes.

New right's issues boomerang on GOP

By John B. Judis

TRENTON, N.J.

IN NOVEMBER 1978, THE NEW RIGHT SUDDENLY emerged as a significant force in Republican politics. Political unknowns running on a platform of anti-abortion, anti-busing, anti-taxes and anti-canal treaty upset liberal Democratic senators in Iowa, Colorado and New Hampshire. In Iowa, Sen. Dick Clark's defeat was attributed primarily to defections among anti-abortion Catholic Democrats in the eastern part of the state.

Eleven years later, the new right's political legacy was the most significant factor in last week's Republican defeats at the polls. In elections in New Jersey, New York and Virginia, its key issues proved to be either irrelevant or self-defeating. Their opposition to abortion was probably the single greatest factor in the defeat of Republican gubernatorial candidates in New Jersey and Virginia. It even played an important role in the defeat of New York's Republican candidate for mayor.

In last week's elections, a new generation of black Democratic politicians also emerged. New York City's new mayor David Dinkins, Virginia's new governor Douglas Wilder and Seattle's new mayor Norman Rice are different from movement-identified black politicians like Washington Mayor Marion Barry, who represent majority black constituencies, or black technocrats like Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode, who had no identification with the black movement. Dinkins and Wilder were active in the civil-rights movement, but they are also politicians who have learned to reconcile and synthesize conflicting movements and interests.

Abortion edge: The new right suffered its most disastrous defeat in the New Jersey gubernatorial election, where Democratic Rep. James Florio won 62 percent of the vote against Republican Rep. Jim Courter. Courter was a favorite of both social conservatives and supply-side Republicans like Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp.

Like Virginia gubernatorial candidate Marshall Coleman, Courter set the stage for his general election defeat during the Republican primary. Winning only 29 percent of the vote, Courter bested four other candidates by cultivating hard-right Republicans. Like Virginia's right-wing Republicans, New Jersey's are a powerful minority within the party, but not in the state, which has been governed for eight years by moderate Republican Gov. Thomas Kean.

Courter's fate was sealed by the U.S. Supreme Court's July 3 anti-abortion decision, *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services*. In the wake of that decision, Florio defended women's right to choose, while Courter initially refused comment. Then, apprised of popular disapproval of the decision, he equivocated, which alienated both his right-wing supporters and the 63 percent of New Jerseyans who thought abortion should be legal.

Florio won sweeping majorities among the socially liberal, upwardly mobile and politically non-partisan baby-boom voters. According to exit polls, he won 71 percent of independents—who outnumber both Republicans and Democrats in New Jersey—63 percent of voters aged 30 to 44, and 69 percent of voters who believe abortion should be legal.

Courter was also hurt by his support for economic deregulation. New Jersey has the highest auto-insurance rates in the country—almost \$1,000-a-year on average—and the state legislature has been debating ways to reduce them. Courter proposed eliminating any regulation of insurance rates—which voters feared would raise rates still higher—while Florio backed tougher regulation.

Courter tried in vain to press new-right hot buttons. But when he called for preventing homosexuals from teaching in the schools or serving as camp counselors, he was rebuked by party leader Kean.

Nor was Courter the only Republican casualty in New Jersey. Democrats won a 45 to 35 majority in the state legislature, which Republicans had controlled by 41 to 39. With abortion a key issue, Democrats won in districts that Republicans had held for two decades. Democrats will now be able to control the process of congressional reapportionment in 1990, and New Jersey, once a solidly Republican state, should remain Democratic well into the '90s.

The race factor: In Virginia, the importance of abortion showed up most clearly in the lieutenant governor's race. Well-known Republican candidate state Sen. Edwina Dalton had been heavily favored and had led in opinion polls prior to election day, but she was handily defeated by Don Beyer, the owner of a Northern Virginia Volvo dealership with no political experience. Beyer focused his entire campaign on Dalton's opposition to abortion.

It also played a decisive role in Wilder's victory. His margin of victory came from the same affluent and socially liberal Northern Virginia suburbs that backed Beyer. Wilder won 58 percent of the Northern Virginia vote, including an astounding 68 percent in wealthy, predominantly white Alexandria.

Wilder, whose political positions were no different from Beyer's or Attorney General Mary Sue Terry's, fared worse than the other Democratic candidates—getting barely over 50 percent, compared to Beyer's 54 and Terry's 63 percent—only because of race.

Similarly, in New York City, Dinkins was aided by abortion but hampered by racial factors (see story on page 7). According to a *New York Daily News* survey, Dinkins did 13 percent better among women than men, winning 58 percent of their vote, and he captured 58 percent among those who favored abortion rights.

In the end, voters' racial prejudice is all that remains of the new right's political formula. When a Democratic candidate is white,

and when the main issues are not racially charged, even a lackluster moderate like Florio can obliterate a conservative Republican. But when a Democratic candidate is black or when issues like urban crime or public housing surface, conservative Republicans can hold their own.

Backwoods Baptists: While a significant setback for conservative Republicans, these elections do not, however, portend an emerging liberal majority. Except for Dinkins, none of the successful candidates, from Wilder to Cleveland Mayor-elect Michael White, were on the party's left. Wilder spent the last week of the campaign trying to deny that he had agreed to minor modifications in Virginia's anti-union right-to-work law.

The elections also don't provide a model for future Democratic victories. Virginia and New Jersey are atypical states, highly suburban and extremely prosperous: unemployment in Virginia is 3.4 percent, and in Northern Virginia, where Wilder ran strongest, the local post offices can't find workers willing to accept its pay rates. What worked in Virginia may not work in Alabama, and, likewise, what worked in New Jersey may not work in Illinois.

The Democrats were able to use abortion to their advantage last week, but as Wilder warned in a press conference after his victory, Democrats would be unwise to view it as their "silver bullet." Many Republicans can be expected to abandon the issue, as the recent congressional vote backing federal funding for welfare abortion showed. By 1992, it may no longer divide the parties.

Abortion is also a tricky issue for a Democratic Party dedicated to uniting working and middle-class Americans. In affluent Virginia, for example, support for abortion rights combined varying degrees of feminism and libertarianism with social snobbery, as opponents of abortion were identified with backwoods Baptists.

Threat to Jackson: Democrats must also be careful not to misinterpret the rise of black Democrats like Wilder and Dinkins. In the wake of their victories, Democratic opponents of Jesse Jackson suggested that either Wilder or Dinkins will displace Jackson as the nation's major black politician. But they ignore the fact that both Wilder and Dinkins are nuts-and-bolts politicians whose political and administrative appeal is local, not national. And, unlike Jackson, they don't have a national agenda or base.

In contrast, Jackson's allies insinuated that Wilder and Dinkins' victories rested in part on their betrayal of the black movement. In a post-election interview on National Public Radio, Jackson adviser Ronald Walters, a political scientist at Howard University, suggested Wilder and Dinkins had gone from representing black interests to representing "moderate, mainstream white interests."

But Walters forgets what it means to be a politician in America's two-party system. Except within very narrow locales, parties and politicians identified with a single cause, interest or movement have failed to win majorities. Wilder and Dinkins, on the other hand, managed to appeal to blacks and whites, the middle class and the underclass.

If either proves a threat to Jackson, it will be not through their participation in national politics but by their example. Their success underscores the distinction between movement agitator and political leader that has haunted Jackson's own presidential bids. □

By Michael Powell

NEW YORK

THE MARGIN WAS THIN, THE RESULT HISTORIC. A black Marine veteran and Harlem lawyer, David Dinkins, is the next mayor of this city. The scene is now strikingly familiar, a sea of supporters offering its cheers, chants and tears to a major city's first black mayor. But amid the jubilation last week at the Sheraton Centre, some acknowledged a sobering reality: the soft-spoken candidate had drawn much worse than expected in white communities, depriving him of a mandate for governing a racially and fiscally troubled city. Jewish and Catholic Democrats turned out in record numbers; more than 60 percent of them deserted their party to vote for the Republican prosecutor Rudolph Giuliani.

Only the black and Hispanic communities spoke with a single, strong voice: Dinkins.

Racism, not surprisingly, was a factor in the poorer-than-expected showing. Giuliani ran a mean-spirited campaign that played

NEW YORK

adroitly on the edge of the white subconscious—in a final debate he promised that, if elected, he would prosecute Dinkins for being a tax cheat. Post-election analysis suggests that many white voters simply lied in the exit polls.

That said, Dinkins ran a problematic and substantively elusive campaign. A son of the Harlem Democratic machine of Adam Clayton Powell and Rep. Charlie Rangel, he offered a mix of real and rhetorical strengths and weaknesses that alternately exhilarated and confounded his supporters. His strength often lay, Reaganlike, with his ability to attract both the old guard and the activist. So it was that Dinkins pulled dozens of community activists and left-liberals onto his borough presidency's staff and, occasionally, adopted their issues. His advocacy for child care, education and the homeless was strong.

"He was one of the few establishment blacks to support Jackson in both 1984 and 1988," notes Jitu Weusi, a longtime community activist.

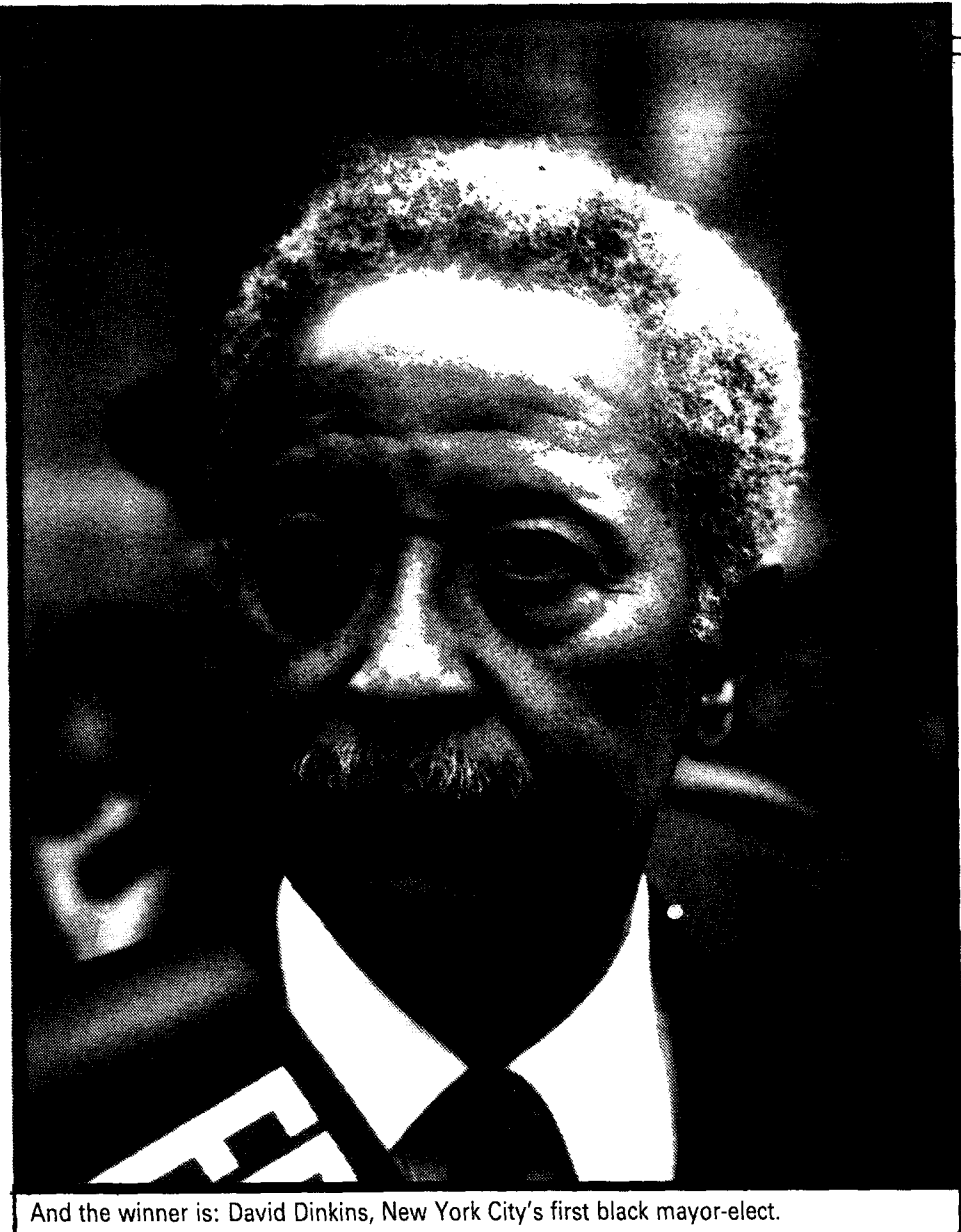
Center moves: But since his primary victory over Mayor Ed Koch in September, Dinkins' tendency toward fuzzy platitudes and his embrace of the Democratic machine has expanded geometrically. Some activists find themselves moving further from the center of power, shouldered aside by those who would "moderate" Dinkins.

For instance, Dinkins' aides wrote up an economic development program for the campaign that stressed commercial rent control and linked subsidies for business to their record of hiring city residents. But Dinkins is hardly married to these often un-specific proposals. As the president of New York's Real Estate Board told the *Wall Street Journal*, "When it comes down to it, Dinkins can be reasonable."

"He's surrounded himself with an awful lot of hacks," notes Angelo Falcon of the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy. "He's comfortable with advocates, but it's going to be a real juggling act."

Another longtime activist and scholar is more caustic. He points to Dinkins' newfound reliance on such power brokers as former Koch Deputy Mayor Nat Leventhal and financier Felix Rohatyn. "He's wrapping himself in the cloak of the regular organization."

Still, supporters reassure themselves, this



And the winner is: David Dinkins, New York City's first black mayor-elect.

Treacherous footing ahead as Dinkins takes New York

unassuming man was often underrated during a tortuous mayoral campaign. It took root a year and a half ago, when Jesse Jackson lost the state's Democratic primary to Gov. Michael Dukakis but swept the city. The victory served notice on Mayor Koch, who had insisted that "Jews and other supporters of

Dinkins now faces a city where nets are cast beneath facades to catch crumbling mortar.

Israel have got to be crazy" to vote for Jackson. It showed that a new movement was afoot, one that might sweep him from office.

It was not clear at the time who would benefit from Koch's newly exposed weakness. Although Dinkins stood by Jackson's side that night in April after the primary, few assumed that the mantle of leadership would automatically fall onto his shoulders.

Nor was anything inevitable about a black candidate's victory. Together the city's black and Latino residents comprise just 50 percent of the population, and they are split into dozens of often fractious offshoots. A stronger-willed candidate might have risked re-enacting the disastrous 1985 experience, when an erstwhile coalition collapsed into a dozen squabbling ethnic and ideological factions.

Dinkins labored for much of the spring and summer in the shadow of Giuliani. The prosecutor's entry into the race prompted *New York Newsday's* generally liberal columnist, Jimmy Breslin, to proclaim: "Rudy Giu-

liani is the next mayor of New York. He will win easily."

A bestselling book by liberal *Village Voice* writers Jack Newfield and Wayne Barrett—*City for Sale*—featured Giuliani as its white knight. He seemed the perfect candidate for a post-Koch age.

Not acknowledged in these paeans from liberal journalists were several facts. Giuliani was a Reagan Republican, responsible for sticking thousands of Haitian refugees in Florida concentration camps, whitewashing the Duvalier regime, and using federal racketeering statutes to cudgel and intimidate, making little distinction between mobsters, trade unionists and stockbrokers. Giuliani was that rare man whose actions could evoke sympathy even for that subspecies of the Reagan age, the junk-bond stockbroker.

He was also an amateur and, like so many of that intense breed, he took the political game very seriously. He labeled Ron Lauder, the multimillionaire cosmetics prince and his Republican primary opponent, "an idiot," Koch "an embarrassment," Dinkins "a crook." The rhetoric grew tiresome.

"He started to look like Darth Vader chopping off limbs out there," says Jay Severin, a Republican media analyst. "He was squandering an incredible advantage."

Giuliani would go on to weather a costly battle with Lauder, in which the perfume heir lacerated the once-fresh-faced prosecutor. By primary day, poles were reversed: the election appeared Dinkins' to lose.

The thorn in his side: And he almost did. After weeks of avoiding anything remotely suggestive of an issue, Dinkins' rose-garden strategy fell into the thorn bushes in mid-October.

It started with Sonny Carson: a tough-talking black nationalist and convicted kidnapper who had long operated on the extreme fringe of black Brooklyn politics. First, the Dinkins campaign was found to have paid him to work as a vote puller. A minor brouhaha. But in an exit as disastrous as any devised by Richard Nixon, Carson called a press conference to dismiss parochial notions that he was anti-Semitic. "I'm anti-white," he assured reporters. "Don't limit my anti-ing to one little group of people."

For a candidate who has denounced extreme black nationalism in the past, it was an embarrassing moment. And ironic—by campaign's end, Dinkins was so fixated on courting the city's Jewish vote that his position on Israel hewed slavishly to the Likud line. Irony, too, was that he sought and gained the endorsement of the militant anti-Zionist group, the Satmar Hasidim of Williamsburg, whose bearded, fur-hatted members frequently picket in front of the Israeli U.N. mission.

More substantively, Dinkins ran into a furor over ownership of stocks in Inner City Broadcasting, a company owned by a virtual who's who of the Harlem elite. Controversy over the proper valuation of Dinkins' stock, its transfer to his son and Dinkins' votes as a borough president on cable issues before the Board of Estimate sent a mighty shudder through the campaign.

"Any devoted supporter would admit to being worried," recalls Mark Green, director of the Democracy Project and a Dinkins supporter. "You always worry that a bad story could mushroom into Watergate."

Explanations vary as to how Dinkins survived with his poll-standing intact. Some attribute it to his well-established image as a calm healer, a nice man. "Dinkins has a history, an image that's already set in people's minds," says Peter Williams, an analyst at the Center for Law and Social Justice of Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn.

There is another, more prosaic, explanation: the San Francisco earthquake. The moving of tectonic plates, combined with a bouncing upper deck in San Francisco's Candlestick Park and a delayed World Series, knocked Dinkins' "hell week" off the front page every day.

To the victor: In any case, he survived and triumphed. But a quick look at the city he must now govern might prompt anyone else to seek an exit through a back door. Dinkins now faces a city where nets are cast beneath facades and arches to catch crumbling mortar and cement that might otherwise crush cars and pedestrians, a city where AIDS is epidemic in black and Hispanic communities, where the minority high-school dropout rate exceeds 50 percent and the budget deficit tops \$2 billion. In fact, Dinkins' more nervous supporters in the financial community console themselves that he faces few choices other than draconian cuts.

In preparation for such battles, activists and progressive intellectuals are already preparing position papers on cutting the budget, raising revenue, negotiating with the unions. "It's hard because most of them have never experienced power before," says Falcon. "It's been a long dry spell."

To which Weusi adds that he has "his fears and his hopes."

"We're not looking for a revolution; we're patient," he says. "We're patient and understanding. It might take four years but we just want hope."

Michael Powell is a reporter for *New York Newsday*.

IN THESE TIMES NOVEMBER 15-21, 1989 7

By David Moberg

CARBO, VA.

DRESSED IN CAMOUFLAGE AND BRIGHT orange vests, their hands above their heads to show they were unarmed, 94 striking coal miners, four union staff members and a Methodist minister walked briskly through the gates of The Pittston Co.'s giant coal-processing plant in southwest Virginia on a Sunday afternoon in September.

The company's well-armed special sec-

LABOR

urity force, Vance Security's "Asset Protection Team," was caught off guard. Moving ahead of the strikers, United Mine Workers (UMW) Regional Director Eddie Burke shouted repeatedly through his bullhorn, "We are an unarmed group of stockholders. I repeat; we are unarmed. No person or property will be harmed. We are going in to inspect the property."

Within minutes the worker-stockholders—divided into red, white and blue teams—had secured the fifth-floor control room of the massive Moss No. 3 coal-preparation plant. At the same time, miners from three states converged on the road leading to the plant to take up positions outside the main gate. More than 1,700 had gathered by nightfall. By Wednesday night the crowd grew to as many as 5,000 miners, their family members and friends. The demonstrators outside vowed they would all have to be arrested before the hundreds of assembled state police could reach the occupying shareholders.

Faced with a federal injunction and potential fines of \$600,000 a day, union leaders decided that they had made their point: that their strike against the Connecticut-based company that began last April was as strong as ever. Also, they did not want to risk violence erupting at the end of the successful non-violent mass protest. Four days after the protest began the occupiers quietly withdrew into the concealing crowd.

■ ■ ■

The Moss No. 3 occupation on September 17 was the most dramatic action the UMW has taken in its seven-month strike against the Pittston Coal Group. But it is only one of dozens of imaginative moves made in an exemplary strike by a union that is, despite its weaknesses, from top to bottom probably the best in the U.S. today.

The strikers are up against the implacably anti-union Pittston management, whose victory would trigger demands by other coal companies and unravel the elaborate 35-year-old system of pension and health-care



Striking miners on the way to take over Pittston's Moss No. 3 coal-processing plant on September 17.

Gritty strikers chip away at Pittston intransigence

benefits and virtually destroy the union. But what has made the strike so difficult and so long is not just the company's intransigence but the overwhelming force of the state and federal governments, as well as the courts and police, against the strikers on behalf of the company.

Virginia's Democratic Gov. Gerald Baliles deployed a huge state police force to arrest and harass strikers and their supporters and to escort Pittston coal trucks and strike-breakers on the highways. Police have made more than 3,000 arrests, more than 90 percent of them for non-violent civil disobedience. Most of the remaining cases concern relatively minor charges of throwing rocks or twisted nail "jackrocks" at coal trucks. Each arrest usually entails multiple charges—an underlying offense, such as blocking traffic, plus two counts of contempt for violating the highly restrictive federal and state injunctions.

Throughout the strike, the UMW has been ordered to pay huge fines for incidents in which the union is not clearly implicated.

By now, state Circuit Court Judge John McGlothlin—whose cousin is an owner of a big non-union coal company—has imposed an unprecedented \$32 million in fines, with more pending, and federal Judge Glen Williams has added nearly another \$1 million.

The strike has been effective in large part because union leaders have modeled it on the '60s civil-rights movement in the South.

By contrast, when Pittston was negligent in the 1983 mine deaths of seven workers, its total fines were \$47,500.

Bad company: Pittston, which also owns Brink's and Burlington Air Freight, broke away in 1987 from the industry negotiating front, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), claiming its greater reliance on overseas sales of coal justified a different contract. In recent years the company has begun shifting coal reserves from its union operations to new non-union subsidiaries. When its contract with the union expired, Pittston cut off the health-care benefits of its retirees.

Though Pittston demanded many concessions, it admitted it could easily afford what the union asked. Most importantly, the company wanted to withdraw from industrywide pension and health plans, jeopardizing not only its own employees and retirees but a system that supports 130,000 former miners and their families. It wanted an unlimited right to subcontract work and to schedule mandatory overtime, including Sundays. It also refused to promise laid-off union miners first chance to apply for jobs at Pittston's non-union mines.

The UMW has used nearly every tactic in the union book and then some to fight back, starting with its rock-solid strike of 1,700 Pittston workers. They include:

- an in-plant campaign that slowed work for 14 months while the union worked without a contract;
- non-violent resistance with sit-ins at plant gates and on highways to slow traffic;
- stockholder pressure and a campaign to force banks to break ties with Pittston—which in one case forced a Boston-based Shawmut Bank officer on Pittston's board out of his job;
- mobilization of wives and families, including an early occupation of Pittston coalfield offices by the women's strike-support group the "Daughters of Mother Jones," as well as spontaneous protest walkouts in high schools;
- widespread sympathy strikes throughout the industry last June, followed by more targeted recent strikes to stop other mines from shipping coal to Pittston;
- visits of more than 40,000 miners and other sympathizers to Camp Solidarity, a tent camp set up by union members as a symbol of the striking workers' unity;
- recruitment of massive support from other unions, culminating in the UMW's decision to rejoin the AFL-CIO;
- mobilizing international pressure, including influential visits by Western European and Polish labor leaders and a UMW visit to Pittston's important Japanese coal customers;
- attracting support of more than 300 religious leaders, including many local ministers and clergy from Pittston's Greenwich headquarters;
- launching a successful write-in political campaign by local union President Jackie Stump for Virginia's House of Delegates against Judge McGlothlin's father;
- promoting federal legislation that would prohibit Pittston's withdrawal from the pension and health funds, successfully turning the BCOA coal operators against Pittston and for the bill. With the help of the police and courts, Pittston has used its bloated force of supervisors and some 350 strikebreakers to continue operations. Nonetheless, Pittston coal sales dropped one-third for the third quarter, and overall corporate profits dropped by 79 percent from last year.

After resisting any high-level mediation or

Union official upsets politician in 'strike referendum'

Three weeks before the Virginia House of Delegates election, District 28 United Mine Workers (UMW) President Jackie Stump announced an independent write-in campaign against Democrat Donald McGlothlin Sr., a 10-term incumbent whose son just happened to be the state judge who had fined the UMW \$32 million.

The seemingly quixotic gesture turned into a 2-to-1 upset victory for Stump last week, and in many ways—in the words of UMW spokesman Gene Carroll—"a referendum about how people feel about the strike and politicians who don't stand up for the union." Although he'd been endorsed by the UMW before, McGlothlin had said virtually nothing about the seven-month Pittston strike.

And while Stump campaigned as a candidate for the whole region and minimized how his candidacy was retaliation against Judge McGlothlin or an extension of the strike, voters clearly were influenced by how they viewed the union and its strike against Pittston. The UMW was able to turn its strikers and their families into a potent volunteer force, but it also bought TV and radio ads.

UMW Vice President Cecil Roberts had rallied strikers before the strike to replace the rich people in control of the government and courts with working-class officials who could then "treat the rich just as fairly as they've been treating us." In his victory speech, Stump said, "If I'm now a politician, I'm a workers' politician." —D.M.

face-to-face negotiations between union and corporate principals, Pittston finally succumbed to Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole's entreaties in October. Last week negotiations mediated by former Secretary of Labor William Usery got underway. UMW Vice President Cecil Roberts argues that Dole's intervention was partly prompted by the embarrassment of pressure from leaders of several international labor groups, including Poland's Solidarity union.

Pittston recently sold some coal reserves in West Virginia, and Roberts argues the company will soon realize it can either "sign a reasonable contract or sell the entire coal division to someone else." Either way, the miners say they'll win.

■ ■ ■

A pre-strike survey of miners for Pittston helped the company conclude that nearly 40 percent of its workers would cross the picket lines within a couple of months. The company evidently anticipated—and if necessary planned to provoke—violence, using that as a pretext for injunctions, police intervention and mobilization of public opinion against the strikers. Early on they apparently convinced Gov. Baliles, who had received large campaign contributions from non-union coal operators. Well before the strike, UMW President Richard Trumka tried to approach Baliles at a political rally to talk about Pittston problems. Baliles hurriedly backed away, raising his hands in front of his face, muttering, "Too much violence, too much violence." There had been none at all at that time.

But Pittston completely miscalculated. At most, two workers temporarily crossed picket lines, and the local community has been surprisingly solid behind the strikers. For example, local Sheriff Avery Phipps wrote Gov. Baliles that "unofficial martial law has been declared and is being imposed on Southwest Virginia citizens under the pretext of the Virginia Right to Work Law."

Ordinary people: At the heart of the strike are families like the Sutherlands and Harrisons.

Sitting in their comfortable house on a beautiful slope of Hatchet Mountain, repairman Darryl Sutherland's wife Avis says, "Before, every family seemed to be working for their own family. Now I feel like we're all family. Everyone around here knew the union was the only thing that's kept the economy and workforce strong. We'd got used to better things in life, but the strike has informed us of the duties of the union."

Their four teenage children, who have been harassed and threatened by Vance security guards while waiting for their school bus, have supported the strike through the children's auxiliary. Shana, 15, says simply, "I felt it was my duty to back up all these miners. If we don't do something, we won't have any future."

Both Avis and Darryl have been jailed twice for civil disobedience. "This was the first time for most of us in jail," Avis says, "and yet people were saying we were violent people with a violent union."

The experience left them bitter about the police and government. "I used to have respect for the state troopers, but I don't have respect anymore," Darryl says. If the state police had stayed away, "we could have had a contract six months ago. There's nothing neutral about the police."

Despite financial pressures on their family and their local schools, the Sutherlands say the Moss No. 3 occupation raised their spirits. "That's the first time I felt such a sense of power," Avis says. "We should have never left."

Two years ago a fast-moving coal conveyor belt grabbed Raymond Harrison, smashing his jaw, ripping off the right side of his face and crushing his right arm. When Pittston's contract with the union expired, the company cut off Harrison's health coverage, leaving the family to pay \$5,000 for surgery needed by his wife Shirley.

During the strike, Harrison's wife and daughters have sat down in roads and occupied the Pittston headquarters. Raymond drives visitors around or retrieves strikers from jail. "When I first went to the picket lines," says Shirley, wearing a red "boycott Eastern" T-shirt. "I didn't think it was America. I thought I was in Poland."

Both Raymond and Shirley grew up poor. Now they feel Pittston threatens the life the union won for them. "People don't understand how deep it goes," Shirley says. "They owned my grandfather and they owned my father, and I resented that. They harassed me while Raymond was lying on the hospital bed fighting for his life. I had to guard him to prevent them from coming in trying to get a statement to make the accident look like it was his fault. I was angry then; I'm even angrier now. All in all I'm angry, not just about him but my father, my uncles, my grandfather. I think I've got every right to fight."

In the tight-knit coal communities, where nearly everyone has relatives working in the mines or relying on UMW retirement funds, roots run deep and strong. The traditional culture remains lively, melding heartfelt religion, uncompromising unionism and proud patriotism, as well as a love of hunting and music. The musical tastes range from old mountain tunes like "Cripple Creek" to "Solidarity Forever," or the poignant song written by Edna Sauls of the Daughters of Mother Jones about a little boy banging on the jailer's door to let him share a cell with his striking father.

The distinctive symbol of the strike—camouflage clothing, often emblazoned with a "stop Pittston" symbol and the slogan, "overcome evil with good"—grew out of this culture. It originated in an earlier long strike against A.T. Massey Coal, when workers were angered at being arrested on the basis of brief descriptions—like the wearing of a blue shirt or a red hat. In a Spartacus-style gesture of solidarity, they all dressed alike, picking camouflage in part because nearly everyone had "camo" hunting clothes.

Local people say Pittston cares little about these values or the local businesses and communities that depend on miners earning decent wages. Most residents feel invaded by an army sent from a government that pays little attention to their region on behalf of a foreign corporation. "If some foreign country came in and took our jobs away, we'd fight them too," says Harrison's daughter, Linda Addair.

St. Paul Mayor Jack Kiser, a striking miner, estimates 90 percent of local merchants back the union, most of them proudly displaying UMW support cards in their windows. "It's not union vs. company but corporate greed out of Connecticut against local people like me who they've known for years and helped make them," he explains. A little machine shop that did most of its business with Pittston refused work, despite threats of permanent loss of business. In the heart of the strike zone, gas station owner Wayne Rasnick displays a sign saying his Chevron station respectfully refuses to serve state police during the strike. Throughout the area, homes are decorated with hand-lettered signs of support such as "I may be poor, but I ain't no scab."

Camp Solidarity: Such solid community support "gives ministers a little more leeway, and it's amazing to me how quickly support has come from churches and religious leaders in this strike," observes Rev. James Sessions of the Commission on Religion in Ap-

palachia.

By far the main support has come from other miners and union workers who have visited Camp Solidarity, a modest, defunct swimming and tennis camp where the union set up first tents and trailers, later a cozy bunkhouse next to a kitchen that has fed as many as 1,500 people in a day. James "Buzz" Hicks, one of the camp's organizers, says the tent city was a reminder of how miners used to be forced into tents if they tried to strike.

Camp Solidarity has so personally transformed Pittston strikers and their thousands of supporters that they want to keep it alive after the strike. Some even feel ambivalent about ending the strike. "I'd like to get back to work," Hicks says, "but I wouldn't give up time I've spent here to be back. It was one of the most memorable experiences in my life. When you come here with a drop of union blood in you, you leave with a bowl. I've had people cry leaving here. They said they're more comfortable here than at home."

■ ■ ■

The Pittston strike has been different and effective in large part because UMW leaders have consciously modeled it on the '60s civil-rights movement in the South. "If you look at the situation of working-class people today, it's not that dissimilar to what blacks faced in the '60s," says UMW Vice President Roberts, an intense man whom some strikers

Continued on page 22

Rigorous planning assures plant takeover's success

The shareholder takeover of Moss No. 3 was masterfully executed. United Mine Workers (UMW) Regional Director Eddie Burke planned it for several weeks as a way to breathe new energy into the strike and drown out the company's relentless talk about violence. For two weeks, small groups of the 125 potential occupiers met, knowing only that they had to be prepared for many days' absence and possible arrest. On the Friday before the takeover, they were told to get clothes ready and wait for a call. On Saturday, a few more leaders learned of the action. Calls went out to car caravans in three states to leave the next day in an inconspicuous fashion at staggered times and to convene later Sunday for a still-secret mission.

Each of the three teams of occupiers carried water, food, tools, a small TV, cards, Bibles, hand towels and locks and chains to secure doors. Individuals packed personal supplies, food and a plastic groundcloth for "Operation Flintstone," named in honor of the Flint, Mich., sit-down strikers. After they got the code, "Kiss the wife and kids," they gathered on Sunday at Camp Solidarity for practice drills. But many still didn't know their objective as they left the camp under strictest orders to carry no weapons and not to be provoked.

"I personally was in the deepest moment of thought of my life," Burke says. "If one person got shot, it's my ass. I was very intense, making sure of every detail." At the corners of each team were "chuckers," men with gas masks and heavy gloves to throw away tear-gas canisters, and next to them the "dog men," with ammonia spray bottles for attack dogs. Up on a ridge above the plant there were already two men with binoculars and radios in the "eagle's nest."

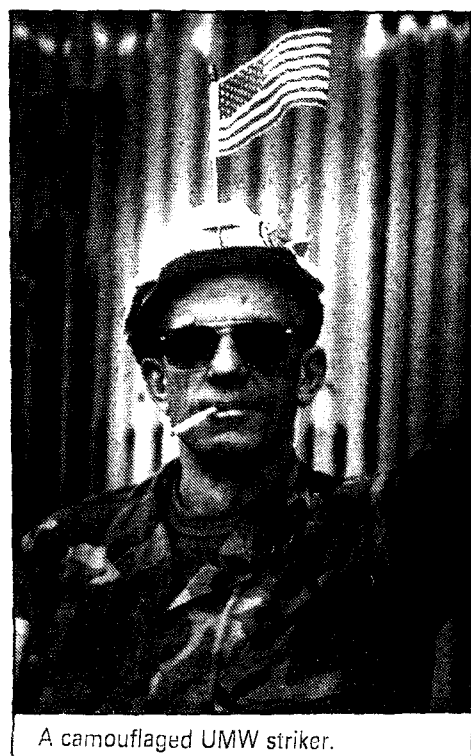
The shareholders piled out of their bus,

box truck and rented U-Haul in a minute while Burke yelled to the front-gate guards to call their superiors with his message of non-violence. Then one striker got on the intercom to repeat it. The Vance guards made no effort to stop them as they walked into the complex. Burke had counted on the guards not wanting to risk confrontation. He also had considerable "inside help" in setting up and executing the occupation. Meanwhile a helicopter with a visible TV camera whirled overhead. There were only a few state police at a different gate: most had been lured to another mine by a decoy convoy of strikers.

The occupiers immediately sealed the control building and put a 30-year veteran in charge of monitoring the gauges to make sure the equipment was properly maintained. They cleaned the "filthy" control room, where they slept and ate, ultimately leaving the plant far cleaner than when they arrived. Periodically company representatives and state police were allowed in to see that nothing was being harmed. But when court injunction papers and orders to leave were delivered, Burke stuck them in his pocket without reading them to anyone.

To pass the time, the three teams jokingly competed with each other over the tasks of the occupation. Rev. James Sessions of the Commission on Religion in Appalachia, who was invited to observe that the occupation was non-violent, led frequent prayer sessions—his final prayer on exit started, "Lord, I'm almost prayed out." At night occupiers entertained supporters with light shows from their flashlights, spelling UMW on company buildings. And all across the side of the control building they painted a simple message to Pittston in huge block letters: UMW FOREVER.

—D.M.



A camouflaged UMW striker.

By Paul Little

SANTIAGO, CHILE

SANTIAGO'S DENSE SMOG LIFTED FORTUITOUSLY on the last Sunday of September as nearly one million Chileans took to the streets to greet opposition presidential candidate Patricio Aylwin upon his return from a successful five-nation European tour. The size and enthusiasm of that political outpouring left little doubt that Aylwin will be elected president in Chile's December 14 national elections, which will return the country to dem-

CHILE

ocratic rule after 16 years under Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship.

Aylwin, a Christian Democrat, is the leader of the Concertación, or Unity Group, an alliance of 12 centrist and leftist parties that formed last year to defeat Pinochet in a plebiscite designed to extend his rule. The alliance's campaign strategy is a continuation of that used in the plebiscite: stress unity themes, be positive, do not provoke the military. Concertación campaign slogans affirm that "it is the people who will win" and that "Aylwin will be president of ALL Chileans."

Still, Aylwin's solid support among political parties of the left is tinged with knowledge of his ambiguous past. As president of the Congress during Salvador Allende's socialist Popular Unity government, he opposed many of Allende's most important reforms. Later he became one of the first political leaders to congratulate Pinochet after the 1973 coup, thinking that he would return power to the Christian Democrats. When this did not happen, Aylwin gradually became part of the opposition.

Instrumental unity: The left, nevertheless, has set as its top priority the political defeat of Pinochet, and its strategic backing of Aylwin demonstrates substantial political maturity. The numerous political parties on the left have organized into two "instrumental parties," the Party for Democracy (PPD)



Chilean army troops in formation during the country's annual military review, which showcased the power under Pinochet's command.

Left coalition prepares for elections

and the Broad Party of the Socialist Left (PAIS). PPD, a center-left coalition that is a key part of the Concertación, bills itself as a pragmatic party that has left behind the messianic-style politics that proved fatal to the Popular Unity government. As Sergio Bitar, a top PPD economist who was minister of mines under Allende, explains, "It is preferable to advance 10 meters and then rest rather than try to advance 300 meters all at once."

PAIS, the last political force to enter the electoral process, is a coalition of the five openly Marxist parties that formed the heart of the Allende government. They are not formally part of the Concertación because the Christian Democrat Party refused to accept the Communist Party—a member of PAIS—into its ranks. Despite this rejection, PAIS has joined the other opposition parties in the running of single legislative candidates in each district and is backing Aylwin for

president.

The right is divided electorally between two lackluster presidential candidates. Hernan Büchi, considered the officialist candidate, was Pinochet's agriculture minister, and in his campaign has tried to distance himself from the current regime's policies in order to broaden his electoral appeal. His high-tech, image-based "Büchi is the Man" campaign has floundered from its inception. Francisco "Fra-Fra" Errázuriz, a millionaire businessman who increased his fortune by speculating on the Chilean free-market economy, is a far-right "independent" candidate. Together they hope to garner a majority of votes and throw the election into a runoff with Aylwin.

Büchi and Errázuriz promise to build upon the so-called "Chilean economic miracle" that the World Bank recently praised for maintaining an annual GNP growth rate of over 7 percent and keeping inflation at 17 percent, low by Latin American standards. During the past 16 years, Chile's economy has been guided by a group of young economists known locally as the "Chicago boys," who have implemented a purist free-market program drastically reducing the state's role in the economy while giving free rein to big capital, both national and transnational. Chile is a world leader in the "capitalization" of its external debt, whereby it gives national firms over to foreign ownership in return for debt cancellation. These policies have created a thriving upper- and upper-middle-class consumer economy that has made Santiago one of the hottest compact-disc markets on the continent. Meanwhile, social and environmental problems—such as the city's dangerous levels of smog—have been neglected because they do not enter into the government's laissez-

Salvador Allende's niece talks about political unity among Chilean left

Denise Pascal Allende, niece of former Chilean President Salvador Allende, is the vice president of the Broad Party of the Socialist Left (PAIS), one of the two Chilean left coalitions participating in the presidential and legislative elections. *In These Times* asked her about the country's current situation.

Are democratic elections a viable path to political power for the left in Chile?

We do not eliminate any path. We see democratic elections as the most valid path at the present time in Chile. On the basis of the small opening after Pinochet's defeat in the plebiscite, the Chilean people are looking for options. This gives us the possibility to create a truly popular mass movement.

Is your support for Patricio Aylwin sincere?

Our support is sincere in that Aylwin represents a consensus of the opposition forces. We could not afford to repeat the South Korean experience, where the center and the left each supported a candidate and brought to power a dictatorship legalized by democratic elections. The process of choosing a consensus can-

didate was a difficult one, but we are committed to the process of a united opposition.

What is the left's organizational level after 16 years of dictatorship?

If we compare it to what we had from 1970 to 1973, we would have to admit that it is not very good. We were hit very hard by the dictatorship. It was a defeat for us. Still there is an entire network of social organizations that has survived these 16 years by using different forms of organization. There are thousands of human-rights groups. There are Christian base communities. There are cultural centers. And now workers' groups and housing groups are beginning to reappear. Today there is a new and different spirit of struggle.

Does this struggle include armed struggle?

We do not advocate armed struggle. Of course, we cannot completely discard the possibility of another coup, in which case armed struggle might once again become an option. But today we see our work as social and political struggle.

If the opposition triumphs in the elec-

tions, what will be the position of the left concerning the trying in court of the military for human-rights abuses?

We believe that finding out the truth is a constructive step for Chile. We have made it clear that we do not seek to try the armed forces as an institution, but only those individuals who committed abuses.

What has been the ideological and practical impact on your movement of the changes occurring in the socialist bloc, especially perestroika?

Undoubtedly, the *perestroika* process has had an influence on the socialism of our continent. But we have always maintained that each country is autonomous. Within the socialist movement, we expressed our criticism of the Czechoslovakian situation of 20 years ago. We did the same with Afghanistan. We believe in the autonomous social development of socialism within each country in accordance with its culture and its idiosyncracies. This does not mean that we have changed our ideology. We remain Marxist-Leninists and are renovating ourselves on the basis of the dialectical development of our history.

faire management philosophy.

This "raw capitalism" has further widened the gap between rich and poor by gradually eliminating the once-predominant Chilean middle class. Chile's marginal, underemployed informal sector has grown rapidly and all of its major cities are now ringed by shantytowns, both relatively new phenomena to the country. A study by the National Institute of Statistics released in October revealed that nearly 7 million Chileans, or 60 percent of the total population, live below the official poverty line. Simple social-class arithmetic explains why the two rightist candidates have little chance of winning a majority of the vote.

Pressure on Pinochet: Ironically, the U.S. government, which played an active role in placing Pinochet in power, is now pressuring him to respect the electoral process. Though the U.S. is pleased with the economic policies of his government and the regular payments it has made on its foreign debt, it seems his continued stay in power can only strengthen the left. The U.S. has expressed openness to the possibility of a Christian Democrat as president, especially given the limiting conditions under which he would assume power.

The December elections are but one small step toward a true return to democracy and civilian rule. Pinochet will continue to exercise significant power in the new "democratic" government, thanks to provisions in the constitution of 1980, which was written by members of his military government. This constitution stipulates that Pinochet shall remain commander-in-chief of the armed forces for the next eight years. It also grants the military-dominated National Security Council veto power over all changes in military personnel and reserves one-third of Senate seats for military and former government leaders, thereby granting Pinochet a Senate seat for life and making constitutional reform extremely difficult. If the opposition wins the elections and takes office in March 1990, it will face the immediate task of reforming this restrictive constitution, which

December elections are but one small step toward a true return to democracy and civilian rule. Pinochet will continue to exercise significant power in the new government thanks to provisions in the constitution of 1980, which was written by members of his military government.

could be the first major test of power between the civilian government and the military.

The military power that Pinochet will command was showcased to the nation on September 19 during the annual military review. More than 18,000 troops, accompanied by hundreds of sophisticated tanks and anti-aircraft weapons, paraded for four hours in front of their commander-in-chief in one of



Patricio Aylwin: leading a united left into the elections.

the largest displays of military force ever held in Latin America. In addition to this official power, numerous paramilitary bands continue to function in Chile with near-total impunity. On the evening of September 4, Chile's historic election day that has become a national day of protest against the dictatorship, the rightist "11th of September Front" gunned down in a Santiago street 28-year-old Jecar Neghme, a top leader of the Revolutionary Leftist Movement (MIR), which had just come out of clandestinity. This assassination was a clear warning to the left that it was still subject to violent repression.

On the judicial front, Pinochet induced six older members of the Supreme Court to retire by offering each of them a 14-million-peso (approximately \$50,000) bonus to leave the court within 90 days. Pinochet then stacked the court with appointees loyal to him. Using the same strategy, he has consolidated his control over future economic policy by appointing the directors of the autonomous Chilean central bank to long terms of office. Since his defeat in the plebiscite he has accelerated the privatization of state firms. A total of 30 have been privatized, including this year the gas, telephone and electric companies. The government is in the process of privatizing the state bank and has even talked of turning Chile's prosperous copper industry, nationalized under the Allende government, over to private capital.

Aylwin opposes these moves, and in a campaign visit to the Chuquicamata copper mine he promised to keep the copper industry, which accounts for 45 percent of the nation's export income, under state control and reorient it to his government policy initiatives. He has also promised to dismantle the CNI, the secret police intelligence force formerly known as DINA, and to "determine who was responsible for human-rights violations and bring them to justice."

Repression's legacy: These last two points are high priorities for the left. Reliable estimates place at 20,000 the number of people "disappeared" and assassinated—most of them leftists—by the Pinochet regime. The torture and repression against the left has created a core group of radicalized and

politicized women who lead many of the human-rights and political-prisoner committees that are fighting to recognize and punish past military abuses. Women have also greatly increased their leadership roles in the numerous Christian base communities and neighborhood groups that have assumed the community organizing work for-

merly done by the banned political parties of the left.

The current election process has led the Chilean left away from advocating armed revolution. Two small guerrilla fronts still exist in Chile, but they are not supported by either the PPD or PAIS political parties. The left sees its future in the masses of young people who have refused to be coopted by the dictatorship and have been some of the most courageous critics of the current government. By integrating them into the organizing and electoral processes, the left hopes to become a truly popular movement.

Several thousand members of these distinct political forces gathered on September 11 in front of Allende's unmarked grave to pay homage to him on this, the 16th anniversary of his assassination and the last such anniversary under the dictatorship. The day was filled with speakers who recalled Allende's utopian socialist vision and sought to keep it alive. At the same time, there was a self-critical recognition of the mistakes made by the Popular Unity government and the need to face the future realistically.

Fifteen years before Mikhail Gorbachov started a process of reform and democratization of Soviet socialism, the Chilean left was creating its own style of democratic socialism based upon electoral politics and parliamentary structures. That experiment was trampled down by the heavy foot of Pinochet's military repression, but its life was not extinguished. These forces are now regrouping and starting again toward the construction of a society based on justice for all rather than riches for the few. □

Paul Little writes regularly for *In These Times* from South America.

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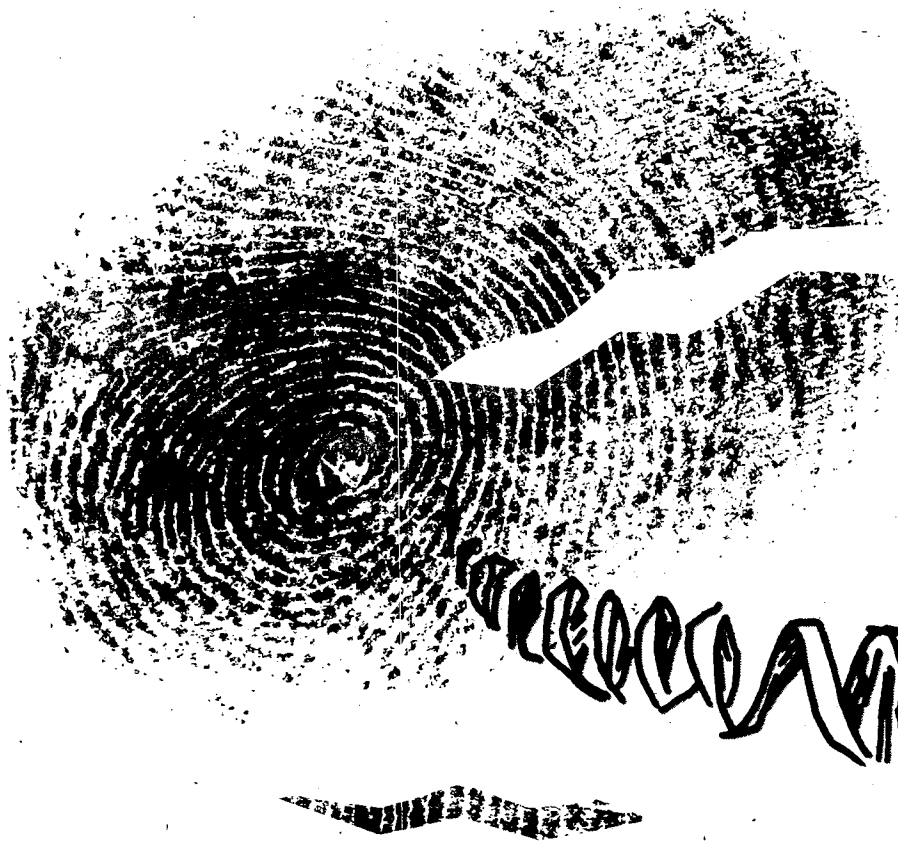
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THE Geneti

As DNA analysis takes its place on the cutting edge of forensic technology, policy-makers must address questions of cost and reliability as well as the possibilities for privacy invasion and civil-rights abuse.

By Ray Walsh

ON AUGUST 14, FOUR YEARS AFTER HIS accuser recanted her testimony, Gary Dotson was released from Illinois custody, cleared of a nationally publicized rape charge. The evidence the state finally accepted in dismissing its charges was not the 1985 recantation of Cathleen Crowell Webb, the woman who claimed she had perjured herself in accusing Dotson, but a genetic test that showed the semen stain used as evidence in the original conviction was not his.

Dotson, imprisoned for nearly 10 years, probably would not sympathize with those who have found reason to distrust the new technology. If used routinely and accurately, genetic analysis could streamline the judicial process and make judgments more certain. But genetic testing is far from perfect and is sometimes given more credit in court than it actually deserves.

Although Dotson was exonerated, his case illustrates how genetic analysis shifts the state's burden of proof to the defense, a costly endeavor for those wishing to prove someone's innocence.

In March 1988 Randall Scott Jones was sentenced to death after a Florida jury deliberated for 12 minutes on his conviction and 14 minutes on his sentence. Cellmark Diagnostics, a private New York-based laboratory, had performed genetic tests for the prosecution and claimed their match had a 1-in-9.3-billion chance of being wrong. A court's acceptance of such damning yet "scientific" evidence all but assures conviction.

That same month Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA), chair of the House subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, held hearings to monitor genetic analysis and its implementation. Barry Scheck of the New York Governor's Commission on Forensic DNA Typing warned the subcommittee that the states may be progressing too quickly with the technology. "It's too important to do badly," he said, "because this is going

to revolutionize the way we run trials in this country within the decade."

Great expectations: Genetic testing is touted as having the potential to locate criminals by using the tiniest of tissue samples, an idea that excites state police and forensic technicians. State legislators have met virtually no resistance in gaining approval of their genetic programs or in creating labs capable of doing the analysis.

The FBI has become the technology's biggest advocate and is working to make it part of routine state-level investigations. To arouse the interest of state legislators and to generate funding for local labs, the FBI is asking for state cooperation in developing a genetic database similar to a fingerprint file.

A database would allow law enforcement officials to locate suspects by using forensic tissue samples, eliminating the need for visual identification. But John Hicks, deputy assistant director for the FBI's Laboratory Division, claims that database information alone could not be used to incriminate. A match between a semen stain and information in the database would authorize a search warrant for the suspect's blood, he said. If a second test matched the blood and the semen stain, the results could be submitted as evidence.

Dr. Edward Blake of Forensic Science Associates, the California-based company whose tests cleared Dotson, believes "the database is being hyped to generate funds to train people and get equipment." This seems particularly true in Illinois. Although the state's lab is nowhere near completion, the Illinois legislature passed a program last spring authorizing the collection of blood samples from sex offenders for genetic typing at a later date. Part of the Illinois state police \$500,000 follow-up funding request includes money to establish a lab for genetic testing.

State legislators, looking for a quick fix during this tough-on-crime era, have rushed to fund such projects, despite the

myriad of problems linked to the new technology. Blood collection—the most expensive component of genetic analysis—has already cost participating states millions of dollars.

Since its introduction in 1985, genetic testing has cleared several hurdles in state courts. The technology's results are considered legally valid scientific evidence in each of the 27 states in which it has been used, thanks largely to the aggressive—and government-compensated—expert testimony of officials from Cellmark Diagnostics and Lifecodes Corp. of Maryland (see accompanying story).

Until this year, only private labs performed genetic analysis, charging from \$300 to \$1,000 per test. The largest labs competing for public-sector market share are Lifecodes, owned by Quantum Chemical Corp., and Cellmark, owned by Britain's Imperial Chemical Industries. But the increase in public labs will make genetic analysis essentially free of charge to those collecting evidence for prosecutions.

Crowd control: Forensic scientists normally employ such traditional methods as fingerprinting, taking an image directly from a person's tissue. A "genetic fingerprint," however, is a pictorial tissue representation that can change depending on how it is processed. Because of this variability, it is critical that a standard laboratory procedure be followed painstakingly nationwide.

In December 1988 the FBI opened the first publicly funded genetic testing lab and began accepting cases submitted by state police departments. The FBI's method, developed jointly with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, is slightly more rigid than those employed by private labs. Yet despite strict methods, in a typical case last April the FBI lab could not provide a match between forensic samples and the suspects in the rape and attempted murder of a jogger in New York City's Central Park.

In a field that deals with multiple labs and tissue samples in various stages of deterioration, are existing guidelines vigorous enough for such a sophisticated, sensitive and potentially incriminating procedure? Some experts do not think so.

Schooled trade: The FBI's "technology transfer program" has so far trained 76 technicians from at least 18 states in its method of genetic typing, in hopes of setting a national standard. Next year's class will nearly triple the number of FBI-trained technicians to 208.

The FBI has already accepted 800 cases

and analyzed 300 of them at its lab in Quantico, Va. The agency clears about 20 percent of the suspects in the cases it accepts. Such cases, which usually don't go to trial, demonstrate the technology's potential, as well as the need for strict regulation.

Because reliability is so important, some observers outside the forensic science community are uneasy about the practical applications of "genetic fingerprinting." This question remains: can technicians with two months of training be expected to create new programs in their home states with a procedure normally conducted by molecular biologists?

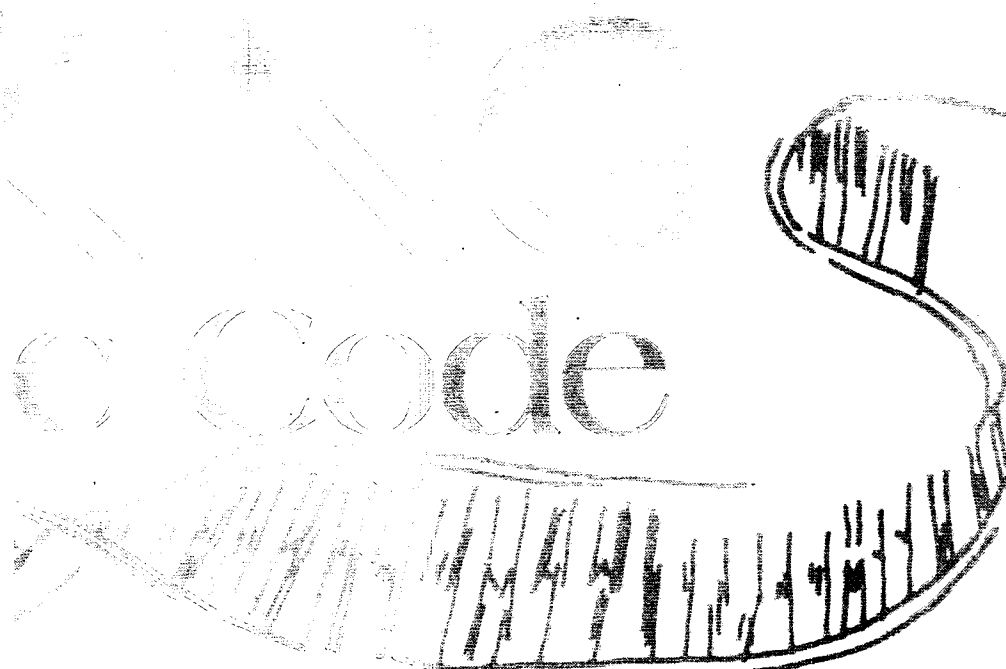
So far only one case has cast doubt on the technology's reliability. In the summer of 1987, Lifecodes tested blood taken from the wristwatch of a suspect in the Bronx murder of Vilma Ponce and her two-year-old daughter. In testimony at a pre-trial hearing last spring, a company spokesman placed the odds at 100-million-to-1 that the blood collected belonged to anyone other than the victim. But because of inconsistencies in the testing, eight expert witnesses led the district attorney to concede that Lifecodes' analysis in that case was not scientifically reliable and could not be submitted as evidence.

As a result of the pre-trial hearing, defense lawyers Peter Neufeld and Scheck, who is also a member of the New York DNA commission, decided to join the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers to try to reopen convictions in as many as 200 cases in which genetic analysis provided evidence for the prosecution.

"There is still lab-to-lab variability, even experiment-to-experiment within the same lab," said Dr. Charles Strom, director of the DNA lab at Illinois Masonic Hospital. "The FBI is aware of this. A match made in Chicago from a sample collected in California is not a significant statement."

Because of these variables, a national standard may be elusive for longer than proponents expect. Nonetheless, public labs opened this year in Virginia, North Carolina and New York's Nassau County. As many as 20 states have genetic-testing labs in various stages of development, with at least 12 of them expected to be on-line by this time next year in states including Arizona, Kentucky, Nevada, Minnesota and Florida. Half of all states hope to be on-line within the next two years.

With more state labs, prosecutors will no longer have to rely on the FBI or private companies for testing. The FBI estimates



that a state lab will be able to conduct tests for \$50 each after relatively modest start-up costs of \$100,000 to \$150,000 for the lab.

By stressing development of a national database before bringing labs on-line, the FBI is undermining public development of the technology. The next two years will be crucial as private laboratories leave the testing market and public labs take over.

Practice not perfect: When FBI officials testified before Edwards' subcommittee, James Kearney of the agency's Forensic Science Research Training Center said, "As we've grown up with the test, it becomes more apparent that there are things that need to be applied as we go through the process. So it's been kind of a learning experience."

Despite the admission that the agency's genetic knowledge is evolutionary, 10 states encountered virtually no opposition in passing legislation to collect blood from sex offenders, and at least six others are drafting similar measures. Although labs are relatively inexpensive under current guidelines, state lawmakers have opted to fund blood collection programs rather than laboratories, mostly because the FBI has offered to monitor the genetic database and make it accessible to the states.

Meanwhile, no one has offered a clear explanation of why a national program is needed. Although sex offenders are among the most likely to repeat their crimes, interstate movement of suspects is hardly the biggest problem facing prosecutors. Reliable state labs would be far more helpful for law enforcement. Long before the FBI conducted tests in the Central Park rape case, Alameda County, Calif., District Attorney Rock Harmon said, "If you can't analyze a sample soon after the crime, then you have nothing to compare against the known samples [in the database]. It would be nice to see that money directed to the crime labs."

The FBI hopes to have working guidelines in place by early next year to instruct state labs how to process the blood samples. In the meantime, any blood collected will be frozen and stored to await the national program in 1991.

The FBI currently favors assigning each sample a 20-digit identification number and entering it into the National Crime Information Center computers. The same system is commonly used by state troopers to identify felons with operator and vehicle license numbers.

In July, Virginia became the third state

after California and Colorado to begin collecting blood samples for genetic typing from its 1,600 incarcerated sex offenders. Arizona, Iowa, Washington, Nevada, Minnesota, Florida and Illinois quietly and quickly passed almost identical legislation earlier this year. Only eight of the 16 states that have passed or are considering such legislation have labs either on-line or near completion. But the swift passage of the legislation almost assures creation of the labs in the other eight. Still, little attention is being paid to the technology's potential for abuse.

A delay in the program in Washington state can be attributed, at least in part, to the efforts of Philip Bereano, professor of engineering and public policy at the University of Washington. Officials in his own state as well as on Edwards' subcommittee have heard Bereano repeat concerns that technical limitations make it "inappropriate" to push the database at this time. Stressing the potentially dangerous applications of any database, he told the subcommittee, "Once a technological program like DNA identification gets established for a pariah group such as sex offenders, it is inevitable that there will be pressures to extend it to yet other groups and also to allow access to increasing numbers of individuals and

Science links suspects to the genes of the crime

Current forensic technology can isolate tissue samples—blood, semen, hair—from those of a population ranging from thousands to billions. When a state court accepts the technology in a pre-trial hearing, it allows the lab conducting the analysis to place statistical odds on the margin of error.

Even odds as low as 30,000-to-1 that a sample could belong to someone other than the suspect can be strongly incriminating, even if technically circumstantial.

Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), the stuff chromosomes are made of, exists in every human cell. A chain of DNA molecules carries an individual's genetic code, and, except in the case of identical twins, it is unlike the chain found in any other person. Although a DNA chain's uniqueness cannot be determined by examining the chain itself, geneticists have developed methods of visual representation to narrow the possible number

institutions who claim that they have a 'need' for the information contained therein."

Although FBI officials dismiss such scenarios as paranoid, California this year expanded the scope of its blood collection program, already the largest in the country. The state has taken samples for various analyses from sex offenders since 1984, collecting 3,050 samples a year with some 8,000 in storage.

In September, the state adopted a law that expands collection to those convicted of aggravated assault and homicide and expands typing to include DNA analysis. It also creates four regional labs to handle the work. Sex offenders were originally suggested for the project because of their high degree of recidivism. By expanding collection to include felony categories with two of the lowest recidivism rates, California illustrates the direction the new technology could take.

New horizons: Other uses of genetic testing have already been suggested by the FBI. In his testimony before Edwards' subcommittee, the FBI's Hicks remarked that the agency's forensic laboratories already play a supporting role in combating terrorism. He suggested the new technology could one day help determine the identity of unidentified deceased. So far the FBI has avoided official statements on long-term plans for the technology, but the parties most actively pushing it appear to be those least concerned with the implications of expanded federal and state access to blood-borne genetic information.

Additionally, a massive gene-mapping project, funded by the National Institutes of Health and supplemented by researchers

worldwide, will add to the thousands of bits of information obtainable from a person's tissue. As one of the largest ongoing federal biological research programs, it will also compile information on genetic history, propensity for certain diseases and history of drug use.

For those who believe the moral and ethical dilemmas of database applications will not have to be addressed for years, Bereano cited a report by Dr. Paul Billings of the New England Deaconess Hospital. The study uncovered existing discrimination—based on "human variation presumed to have genetic origin"—in employment, health care and insurability, and access to social services.

As more labs are created and practice becomes more routine, the cost per test is expected to drop dramatically, eliminating one of the only existing roadblocks to widespread use. Despite official assurances that appropriate caution will be taken, state possession and indefinite storage of tissue samples may be setting the stage for future civil-rights abuses.

Regardless of Scheck and Neufeld's eventual success in overturning convictions, more states will continue the drive to collect blood for typing by genetic markers, whether they have the necessary labs or not. Unless a firm position on purpose as well as rigorous guidelines for a reliable procedure are established, inflated expense, questionable convictions by unquestioning juries and expanded federal access to biological privacy are inevitable.

Yet despite the overwhelming lack of technical readiness, a database is still an easy sell. As one Florida forensic technician joked, "No one likes sex offenders." □

of donors.

Requiring a semen stain the size of a dime or a blood stain the size of a quarter, genetic profiling begins by extracting DNA from cells and cutting the chain into fragments. A technician then sorts the fragments by length using a series of radioactive probes. The probes are pieces of DNA that target and bind with specific regions of the DNA chain.

Photographic film exposed to the sample generates a pattern of bands, the widths of which depend on the fragment lengths. Technicians compare this image, which resembles the commercial Universal Product Code now found on consumer items, with the images of other samples. More probes produce more bands and increase the sample's exclusivity from others, as well as the cost of the analysis.

Several companies and a few public labs conduct DNA analysis in the U.S. Though the tools—the probes and the

enzymes used to extract the DNA—sometimes differ, the method is essentially the same. The tools are what the private companies consider proprietary.

Lifecodes Corp. of New York and Cellmark Diagnostics of Maryland actively testified on behalf of the technology and trained forensic technicians to speed the process of acceptance and widespread use. Now that the technology is accepted in most courts, the two companies will likely abandon casework testing in favor of marketing their patented probes. Along with California-based Cetus Corp. they will market their probes and enzymes as "kits."

This exit from casework would make already expensive DNA typing even more inaccessible for the defense in criminal cases, since the only existing labs will serve prosecutorial bodies and state-funded labs are legally bound to notify the courts of any positive matches.

—R.W.

IN THESE TIMES NOVEMBER 15-21, 1989 13

Bill Day Detroit Free Press Tribune Media Service



It isn't class warfare, just class welfare

One day in 1985, when he was governor of Arizona, Bruce Babbitt got a call from Charles H. Keating, a wealthy Phoenix businessman who was chairman of California-based Lincoln Savings and Loan. As Babbitt tells it, Keating said, "Bruce, I want you to call Ed Gray at the [Federal] Home Loan Bank Board and get him off my back." Babbitt refused, suggesting that if Keating were in trouble he should go out and get himself a lawyer. Instead, Keating first stopped contributing to Babbitt's campaign fund—"probably figured he wasn't getting a good return on his investment," Babbitt says. Then he went out and got himself five senators.

The senators—Alan Cranston (D-CA), Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), John Glenn (D-OH), John McCain (R-AZ) and Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-MI)—collected a total of \$1.5 million in donations to their personal campaign funds and their political action committees, and DeConcini's top campaign aides received more than \$50 million in real-estate loans from Lincoln. In return, the senators did what Babbitt had refused to do. They met with Edwin J. Gray, then the head of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB), and leaned on him to ease up on an investigation of Keating for fraud and making illegal loans. As it happened, Gray ignored them but was overruled by M. Danny Wall, head of the FHLBB, who delayed the shutdown of Lincoln for two years.

"I have done this kind of thing many, many times," says Sen. McCain, explaining that he views his efforts on behalf of Keating as identical with "helping the little lady who didn't get her Social Security." But, of course, it's not quite the same, since the two-year delay in closing down Lincoln Savings and Loan—made necessary by Keating's squandering of his depositors' money—will end up costing the public a record \$2 billion in federal deposit insurance funds. As former House Speaker Jim Wright said when asked about the five senators, the real question was, "Would these fellows work so hard for a poor guy out there who can't afford to contribute?"

Wright, who resigned his House seat last June, in part because of allegations that he, too, had interceded on behalf of similarly corrupt Texas savings and loans, said that he didn't know the answer to his own question. But if you stopped 10 people on the street and asked them Wright's question, you would be lucky to find one who shared his uncertainty—or anyone who would believe McCain's explanation.

All in the game: If this were an isolated case of members of Congress taking money in exchange for favors, or using their offices to enrich themselves and their friends and associates, it wouldn't be so bad. But betrayals of the public trust like this are so routine that the five senators may not even be officially chastised. Consider, for example, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), whose relatives, friends and

campaign contributors have all received Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grants designed to benefit people unable to find affordable homes.

In D'Amato's home village of Island Park in Hempstead Township, HUD mortgage subsidies earmarked for lower-income couples and to help integrate the 97-percent-white community were funneled instead into construction of a \$1 million swimming pool, and to insiders, including a D'Amato cousin. Some of these cronies parlayed their good luck into substantial profits. Not surprisingly, D'Amato insists that his attempts to influence HUD funding decisions were proper. "I went to bat for every single thing that had merit," he says. "I've done it for my constituents ... and the attempt to make it look like it's for my contributors, that's totally wrong."

That, of course, is precisely what the five senators say, although Cranston at least acknowledges that money was a consideration in his actions. Not without some validity, he says that the large sums needed for Senate campaigns require legislators to curry favor with major donors like Keating.

The public be damned: Cranston's point has implications far beyond the question of sleazy politicians like D'Amato enriching their friends and relatives. Indeed, it goes to the heart of the corruption of our political system and helps explain why congressional priorities are so at odds with the social needs of the nation.

A good case in point involves Rep. Doug Bereuter (R-NE), the only Republican in the House to vote against a cut in the capital gains tax in September. Bereuter, a six-term veteran with a safe seat, opposed the cut because it would "exacerbate a growing income inequality and contribute to the federal deficit." He could do so, he said, because Nebraska does "not have as many wealthy people as a typical state," and because he has no desire to seek a higher office.

But Bereuter recognized that his situation was unusual. He had been asked by the Republican leadership to run for the Senate next year but decided against it. If he had decided to run, Bereuter admitted, his vote on capital gains would have been more difficult. "In terms of vote-getting appeal," he explains, his vote against the tax cut "will be positive." But if he had been "thinking about raising a lot of big bucks for a statewide campaign, a vote for [the tax cut] would be advantageous." That is why a "significant number" of his fellow Republicans in the House privately commended him on his courage and good judgment. They told him, he says, that "in reality, you cast the right vote."

In other words, as even many Republican lawmakers know, the capital gains tax cut is both a bad and an unpopular idea, but a vote for it is advisable in the absence of an aroused public. When the cut passed the House in September, the media crowed about the public's rejection of "class-warfare politics." But in fact the vote had nothing to do with the public's wishes or interest and everything to do with the wishes of the wealthy contributors to congressional campaign funds.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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LETTERS

Earth First! ideas

WE ARE STUDENTS AGES 4-10 AT THE KALEPAE-deia House in Newfield, N.Y., and we read your article about redwood trees (*ITT*, Oct. 25). We had just read *The Big Tree* by Mary and Conrad Buff. It was about the oldest living redwood tree. The Indians called it Wa-wo-na. Wa-wo-na was almost cut down by early white lumberjacks. It is 5,000 years old. Redwoods take 150 years to make cones, so they can't grow back very fast. If the forest is clear-cut the animals have no homes to live in.

These are some suggestions we kids had that maybe Earth First! could think about: Build a huge metal fence around the trees, outlaw clear-cutting of redwoods and put out guards, destroy machinery and shoot out tires, put signs on trees against clear-cutting, educate the workers and convince them that it's not good to cut such old and beautiful trees. We hope that our ideas will be some help to Earth First! Thank you for the great article.

Annelise, Dorian, Erika, Tara,
Deborah, Jesse, Isamarja, Beth, Scott
The Kalepaedia House
Newfield, N.Y.

Inconclusive

MY ARTICLE, "MEXICO'S MODERNIZATION IGNITES Old-fashioned rage," (*ITT*, Oct. 11), was, as expected, well edited. Yet, one of the sections you decided to cut was the original conclusion, which significantly shifted the nature of the story. The published piece ends with a somewhat sensationalistic tone, quoting oft-expressed frustrations by peasants to the political situation, "Cardenas doesn't want violence. But my gun is ready when he does." This was meant as a dramatic illustration of certain sentiments but not as a summation of all popular expression today. The point is a real one but not meant to stand alone. Indeed, what is now most astounding in Mexico is that it is not at the brink of a chaotic explosion of violence but rather that new popular forces are emerging to confront the ruling elite in unprecedented ways.

The original conclusion notes that the threads of common struggle continue to create hope in the building of an organized opposition despite enormous odds. The unedited version ends with a description of an event that illustrates the extraordinary capacity of the popular movement to forge new democratic spaces: a dramatic invitation by a leader of the popular urban movement to officials to join him in taking a bite of the "forbidden fruit of democracy." The key point in understanding contemporary Mexico is that the popular movement and its initiatives are transforming the traditional features of Mexican power politics into a politics of the people.

David Brooks, Director
Mexico-U.S. Dialogos
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Rain-forest spraying

TODD STEINER'S "DRUG WAR VICTIMS: A RAIN FOREST, restless natives and U.S. pot smokers" (*ITT*, Sept. 20) is fine. But does Steiner know that the same spraying with the same herbicide, glyphosphate, with the same effects on rain forests, is going on in the U.S.?

Among the affected forest areas there is terrain representing every stage of natural laboratory prized by ecologists worldwide who seek to understand the process of recolonization and regrowth of a natural landscape. Only fragments of lowland rain forest remain, and they are the last of their kind. They are also the only remaining examples of the lowland tropical rain-forest ecosystem in the U.S.

The most recent aerial spraying program is taking place within Hawaii's lowland rain forests. From our home we can see the helicopters entering and leaving their target areas, hovering and making repeated passes over irreplaceable rain forests here in our immediate neighborhood in lower Puna, Island of Hawaii, U.S.A.

Maja Gossom
Pahoa, Hawaii

Groggy?

I'VE ALWAYS APPRECIATED DANIEL LAZARE'S insightful comments, especially when he worked for the conservative and proudly anti-union *Bergen Record* in northern New Jersey. He was much farther downstream than his assignment editor.

Unfortunately, it appears that in "Drugs 'R' Us" (*ITT*, Oct. 18) some of this past association has remained glued to his consciousness. How else could he argue that legalized marijuana use would be limited to blue-collar workers ("laborers, taxi drivers and construction workers"), while other—presumably classier—folks would feel too "groggy." This is a kind of white-collar arrogance that doesn't fit the Daniel Lazare who found ways to express a class perspective in the *Bergen Record*.

Philip J. McLewin
President, Bergen County
Central Trades & Labor Council

Thankful

JEFF SALAMON'S REVIEW OF JACKSON BROWNE'S *World in Motion* (*ITT*, Sept. 20) is very heartening. While criticizing the album for its generalities, Salamon's review offers hope for whites who may be sensitized to the injustice going on in the world but who feel they have nothing to say: "He [Browne] doesn't imagine that an affluent white man can have anything worthwhile to say about suffering people—as if our own country hasn't had its struggles, as if Browne didn't live through some of them, as if he weren't living through some of them now. As if many of the freedoms we enjoy aren't the ones people all over the world are fighting for."

I agree with Jeff Salamon that "this self-abnegation is a shame." It gives people like me an excuse—guilt—to continue doing

and saying nothing, to continue the silence, claiming that we are so paralyzed by our guilt that we don't know what to do. Guilt that does not move us to action is useless, even narcissistic and selfish.

Jeff Salamon's review goes beyond mere criticism of Browne's generic social commentary to the larger issue: the difference between mere bandwagon protests and real solidarity. I'm thankful for that.

Rick Reid-King
New Haven, Conn.

A new radicalism in Canada

TO THIS NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY MEMBER, Lawrence Kootnikoff's article on the leadership race within Canada's New Democratic Party (*ITT*, Oct. 18) was disappointing. Social democracy in Canada is in serious crisis, but not as the corporate media or party's establishment perceive it.

Over the years the NDP has increasingly become a purely electoralist machine, yet at every national election it has finished in third place behind the Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties. In its attempt to appeal to the lowest common denominator in voter support, the party's establishment has attempted to water down what it considers the party's "too radical" edges. It has shunned extraparlimentary activity and shut out left/socialist forces, but the subsequent shifts to the right have failed to break the party out of its third-place position.

The party establishment believe that flair, charisma, flamboyant rhetoric and bombast are the essentials of party leadership—and the way to an NDP electoral breakthrough. But they are not the substance of politics—especially socialist politics.

The party establishment is split in its support for two candidates, and the important labor sector support is, as yet, uncommitted. Yukon Member of Parliament Audrey McGlaughlin was first touted as the establishment's choice, but her performance during candidate debates proved embarrassingly wishy-washy. Some in the establishment jumped ship to endorse the bombastic Dave Barrett, who quickly fractionalized the party regionally (with many unionists remembering his legislating of striking British Columbia workers back to work when he was premier of that province).

Of the six candidates in the race, only one has clearly differentiated himself from the others—Member of Parliament Steven Langdon, the party's former trade critic. While the other contenders still look to the legislation of an NDP government to "make the system run better," Langdon has proposed a "new radicalism": a commitment to

a socialist vision, democratization of the party, emphasis on economic issues, and the importance of social and working-class extraparlimentary movements as agents of social change. Implicit in his message is socialist politics to empower and democratize.

Much to the disgruntlement of the party's establishment, many rank-and-file New Democrats and labor delegates are listening to Langdon's message. Delegates to the convention will be searching for answers and alternatives to the failed strategies of the past, and Langdon's proposals may build the labor, environmentalist, red/green coalition with other constituencies such as women, peace activists, etc., to change things around on the convention floor.

Len Wallace
Windsor, Ont.

Some capital gains should be encouraged

NEITHER YOUR EDITORIAL ON CAPITAL GAINS TAXATION nor the usual political propaganda pro and con makes an effort to explain how favorable capital gains taxation *could* be beneficial to all of us.

Obviously, if someone buys shares of stock on Wall Street for an existing company in January and sells them in December for a profit, he has not contributed money for expansion of industry. He has only speculated in stocks for a "fast buck," and there is no sense in giving him a tax break on this kind of capital gains.

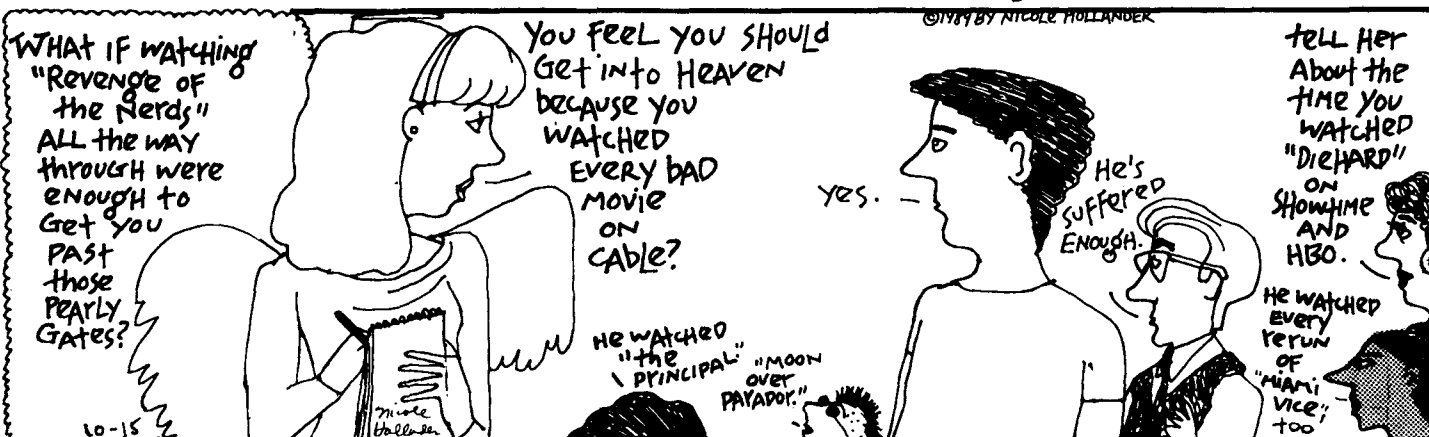
However, if someone invests money in a new stock issue intended to raise capital for the construction of new factory capacity and holds on to this stock for a number of years, accepting the risk that the new factory facilities may not prove successful, he has a fair claim to a tax break if he sells the stock for a profit. His money was placed where it could create new jobs and new tax revenue.

Capital gains tax breaks therefore can lead to a net gain in tax revenue, but they need to be restricted to long-term profits on new stock issues for this purpose. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans in Congress make this distinction in their partisan bickering.

Frederick Lightfoot
Greenport, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Drug-war rhetoric conceals cartels' capital ties

By James Petras

IT HAS RECENTLY BECOME FASHIONABLE for Latin American presidents to declare their willingness to join the U.S. in the "war on drugs." Surface differences revolve around the most effective methods. While the Reagan and Bush administrations have emphasized military aid, drug eradication and law enforcement, Latin presidents want economic aid to cushion the effects of conversion from coca growing to alternative farming. But there are also underlying tensions on the principal locus of the problem. U.S. policy-makers place greater emphasis on restricting drug supply, while Latins emphasize the need to curtail demand. Neither party, however, has seriously examined structural relations between drug profits and key institutions and supporters of their respective political administrations.

Massive money laundering by major U.S. banks in Florida, New York and California has been documented in the media and congressional hearings. The financial sector has become a major influence in both major U.S. political parties, Congress and the presidential campaign—and subsequently in the executive branch. The obvious and most direct method of attacking the drug trade—through tighter regulation of the banking system—has been avoided in order not to cut into banking "confidentiality" and profits. Instead, highly publicized, ineffectual campaigns have been launched against retail networks in poor neighborhoods.

If structural links between banks and political institutions undermine any sustained effort to end or curtail the drug trade in the U.S., similar circumstances operate in Latin America. In Colombia, social scientists conservatively estimate that at least one-third of their members of Congress are elected with funds from the drug cartels. Several presidents (the most obvious Julio Turbay) had close financial ties with drug networks. Most of the generals, the landed oligarchy and top businesspeople and bankers were involved in joint ventures or interlocking directorates with



Peruvian President Alan Garcia: turning a blind eye to coca production in some parts of Peru?

the drug barons. In Bolivia, the Hugo Banzer and subsequent military regimes were the closest examples we have of narco-states—regimes based primarily on long-term, large-scale ties with drug capitalists.

Civilian drug pushers: With the advent of elected civilian leaders in Bolivia and Peru, and with the emergence of liberal President Virgilio Barco in Colombia, media attention has shifted away from regime ties to the drug trade. The vigorous public condemnations of the drug trade by

liberal and social-democratic spokespersons in these regimes has further encouraged the notions that there is a shared hemispheric purpose in wiping out the coca cartels if the resources could be mobilized and that elected regimes are likely to pursue the goal of stopping the drug plague.

There is very little reason to expect this. One of the most aggressive promoters of the drug trade in the 19th century was democratic England: through the Opium Wars, it succeeded in forcing drugs into the lives of millions of Chinese as part of its Free Trade policy against the will of China's authoritarian dynastic rulers. Likewise, in the U.S., local, state and national political and law-enforcement officials have been on the drug take for many years. Not to mention the indirect ties through the recent banking-political nexus mentioned above.

The underlying relations among profits, trade and power—between political and drug figures—are not profoundly altered by changes in political regime, whether it be a shift from military dictators to elected civilians or from conservative to social-democratic regimes.

A case in point is Peru under President Alan Garcia. A leading member of the Socialist International, he is an ardent public advocate and supporter of Washington's anti-drug campaign. In his public speeches, Garcia has made a point of exhibiting his wholehearted agreement and cooperation with U.S. Drug Enforcement

Administration efforts in Peru. He has accepted a substantial contingent of U.S. drug advisers and even the use of health-hazard defoliants (Spike), particularly as his reform programs have collapsed and he has turned toward the U.S. for economic aid.

The hidden producers: But there is another side to Garcia's drug policy that has not received any attention from the media or Washington. His administration has encouraged or given the blind eye to the expansion of coca cultivation and the dramatic increase of coca production in areas that he finds politically and economically useful. While Garcia enthusiastically receives \$100 million in drug enforcement funds for an "interdiction security" program in northern Peru (the Upper Huallaga Valley), a United Nations team studying satellite maps has identified the existence of 40,000 hectares of coca in the south, in the Quillabamba-Cuzco area. This is four times the production estimated by the government agency in charge of the state coca monopoly and half again as much as the area in the much-publicized Upper Huallaga Valley. More satellite photos are expected to reveal further recent coca expansion in the Cuzco region. The former head of the state coca monopoly and a close friend of President Garcia claimed that the state purchased the bulk of the coca grown in the Cuzco region. Yet independent observers calculate that the 4,000 metric tons purchased by the state is the production of only 4,000 to 6,000 hectares—roughly one-eighth of the land under coca cultivation. The Garcia government has long ignored police reports of large-scale trafficking and production in the Cuzco area, lending credence to the charges of independent observers that top-level state personnel and Garcia's APRA party leadership are deeply immersed in the drug business.

By vigorously supporting the drug enforcement campaign in the Upper Huallaga Valley in the north, Garcia receives merit points and aid from the U.S. while quietly building a political base and securing financial resources from the drug trade in the southern Quillabamba-Cuzco area. Beyond the political and personal gains that the new southern coca expansion provides to the Garcia administration, it also creates the basis for Peru to gain a dominant position in the legal coca market.

Alan Garcia's double discourse, his advocacy of a "progressive" drug war in the Upper Huallaga Valley—combining eradication and economic incentives for alternative farming—with the tacit encouragement of coca expansion in the south, symbolizes the hypocrisy and cant of all the major players, North and South, neoconservative and social democratic, who place the market and profits above public morality and human needs. Until the drug trade's underlying structural support-systems located in the legal institutions of society are tackled, the trade will continue to flourish. We will continue to be subject to highly visible drug "campaigns," "wars" and other rhetorical excesses that distract us from uncovering the links between drug capitalism and its legal counterpart. The double discourse of Peru's president is emblematic of our times.

James Petras teaches sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

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Economist's 'miracle cure' spells illness for Poland

By James Petras

IN THE MID-'80S, BOLIVIA WAS IN THE grip of five-digit inflation, largely the product of an economy pillaged by speculators, drug dealers and corrupt military officials—even as a nominal center-right electoral regime held the reins of government. The wages of the better-paid tin miners averaged less than 30 dollars a month, while many peasants reverted to a subsistence economy and barter exchanges. Bolivian generals and bankers regularly transferred their licit and ill-begotten incomes to banks overseas, while policy-makers sought a stabilization formula that would least adversely affect their colleagues in the private sector. Enter Professor Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard—the man now advising Poland's new government—with a solution to hyperinflation that was not only painless for the wealthy but opened a whole range of new opportunities: the sell-off of public property at bargain-basement prices, cutbacks in state expenditures and public

works, cutbacks on employment and drastic reductions in wages. A large pool of unemployed workers was created to keep wages down and the new economic order working. To one member of the Bolivian elite, Sachs was a "formidable," "brilliant" economist. And so was he written up on the financial pages in the U.S.

For the great majority of Bolivians, Sachs' policies were an unmitigated disaster. Those fortunate enough to retain employment saw their meager salaries halved in the course of weeks. Malnutrition, always a threat, became endemic. Tens of thousands of redundant wage workers, including 30,000 tin miners, were given a pittance of a severance pay and put in the street—victims of Sachs' shock treatment. They continued out of work for months on end—as did many others: drifting from mining towns to regional cities and the capital to the countryside. Families were separated; household budgets were disrupted. In short, Sachs' stabilization policies for the elite destabilized the everyday life and economy of the Bolivian work-

ing people. More significantly, Sachs wrongly assumed that employment and income derived from public activity would automatically be replaced by a more dynamic and efficient private sector. Lacking any practical sense of the Bolivian reality, Sachs' assumptions and doctrinaire policy advice merely increased the divisions among wealthy property owners, wage earners and Indian peasants without

The policies of this Harvard professor have transformed a whole stratum of productive Bolivian workers into efficient growers of the very drug that destabilizes neighborhoods a few miles from Harvard Yard.

stimulating any major new enterprises—with the one exception of coca farming.

Thousands of tin miners, after searching in vain for alternative employment—the kind promised by Sachs' free-market doctrine—invested their indemnification

funds into land and began to cultivate coca. Even their former union leaders turned their hand at organizing the coca growers to obtain fairer prices from the drug barons.

Intended or not, the policies of the peripatetic Harvard professor have transformed a whole stratum of productive workers, employed in public enterprises, into efficient growers of the very drug that is destabilizing neighborhoods just a few miles from Harvard Yard.

Now Jeffrey is off to Poland to advise Solidarity, with the Bolivian success story as his primary recommendation: stabilization based on austerity for the poor, the closing of public enterprises and the notion that the magic of the marketplace will generate the new enterprises and jobs for the burgeoning unemployed. Will the shipyard workers in Gdansk become the covert vodka distillers in Poland after Jeffrey's shock treatment and the market fail to relocate workers in productive employment? An apocryphal story circulating in La Paz these days is that some of the coca growers are raising money to fund a chair in coca-economics and the doctor at Harvard is the leading candidate. If they wait long enough they may get funding from their Warsaw counterparts for a joint appointment. ■

No U.S. aid for ARENA's despotic agenda

By Eva Gold & David Rudovsky

CONGRESS CURRENTLY IS CONSIDERING the administration's request for financial assistance to El Salvador for fiscal year 1990. In this decade the U.S. has already supported the government of El Salvador to the tune of \$4.45 billion. But the election of an ARENA party government in the March presidential elections precipitated talk in Congress of "conditioning" the aid on human-rights performance.

El Salvador has a record of human-rights violations as brutal and widespread as any in the Western hemisphere. And with the accession to power of President Alfredo Cristiani, virtually all observers predicted even greater repression. ARENA has a long history of human-rights violations, including connections to political assassinations, disappearances and other right-wing terrorist activity: the ARENA government was quickly labeled the "death-squad government." But because the number of right-wing political murders did not spiral in the first few months of the ARENA government, Congress seems to believe that vigilance is not required. Now the prevailing mood on the Hill seems to be to pass the legislation giving unencumbered aid, in order to give Cristiani a grace period.

There should be no real question concerning ARENA's agenda. President Cristiani took office in June 1989. One of the first major legislative initiatives following his inauguration was a sweeping package of legal measures (later repackaged as reforms to the penal code) that would criminalize many forms of peaceful dissent and protest. If enacted these reforms would:

- Punish journalists and newspaper publishers who spread "tendentious or false in-

formation aimed at disturbing constitutional order." This vague and all-encompassing provision would deter any press criticism of the government and would subject reporters to prison terms for reporting on activities of the insurgent force, the FMLN, in a manner that the government believed to be inaccurate. Further, this legislation would apply to political advertisements of opponents of the government and would curtail the reporting by human-rights groups of human-rights violations in El Salvador.

- Make it a crime punishable by long prison sentences to lobby international organizations (including the United Nations) to denounce human-rights violations in El Salvador or to possess or distribute information that "subverts public order." Obviously,

El Salvador has a record of human-rights violations as brutal as any in the hemisphere. Cristiani's accession to power signals even greater repression, but Congress' prevailing mood seems to be for unencumbered aid in order to give him a grace period.

any criticism of the ARENA government could be considered just such subversion of public order.

- Punish as criminal many traditional forms of protest such as non-violent demonstrations, sit-down strikes and other

labor-related protests, and "acts that affect" international relations. Criticism of governmental policies made by Salvadorans in the U.S. to bring to our attention human-rights violations in El Salvador would be prohibited.

Not surprisingly, the ARENA government proposed this legislation in the name of combating terrorism. What is surprising is Congress' apparent blindness to the real agenda of ARENA: to punish all dissent and protest against the government.

ARENA has held off enacting this legislation, in part because of the hostile reaction it engendered in El Salvador and because of sensitivity to an adverse reaction in Congress. Former President Duarte's Christian Democratic Party criticized the legislation as "state terrorism" and as a "serious attack against the most elementary human rights."

Sliding to the right: ARENA's electoral success spelled the failure of U.S. policy, which had been directed toward the creation of a "center" that would isolate both the extreme right and left. Now it is claimed that further assistance to El Salvador is to strengthen the "moderate" sectors of the right. But the urbane Cristiani and the honorary president-for-life of the ARENA party, Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, believed by many to be the organizer of the death squads, are two faces of the same coin. Both recognize their new position of responsibility: out-of-power ARENA was said to be liable for large numbers of extrajudicial killings; in power they seek international respectability and a "legal" apparatus of repression.

Congress needs to review carefully its El Salvador policy. This is no moment to sign a blank check. No one, least of all Congress, should be deceived into allowing ARENA to implement a legalized program of repres-

sion. Now that they are in power and find that the freewheeling death squads might be dysfunctional, ARENA cannot be permitted to substitute one form of repression for another. As ARENA and the FMLN enter their beginning rounds of dialogue this fall, the Salvadoran government should hear the message that its most important backer, the U.S., is looking for progress toward peace, and that peace demands justice at home. ■

Eva Gold is a staff member of NARMIC, the research and resource unit of the American Friends Service Committee. She most recently visited El Salvador in summer 1989. David Rudovsky is a constitutional lawyer currently teaching at the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

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Socialism: Past and Future

By Michael Harrington
Arcade/Little, Brown & Co.
320 pp., \$19.95

Alternatives to Capitalism

By Jon Elster & Karl Ove Moene
Cambridge University Press
179 pp., \$9.95

By David Moberg

Harrington's good fight for an American socialism

vanced technology of major corporations as well as the interdependence of government and big business. But it has been "socialized" under the control and for the benefit of the rich. The big question remains: is there some other way of socializing it?

In the 19th century, there was always tension among socialists between the "utopian" traditions of

POLITICS

radical transformation from below (to which Marx belonged, in Harrington's interpretation) and a more centralized vision of rational management by the enlightened. There was also tension between those who saw change coming only through an abrupt rupture—an either/or choice of capitalism or socialism—and those who saw that capitalism, with great difficulty, could be changed in ways socialists advocated even though many capitalist fundamentals remained unaltered. But the biggest tension revolved around how to assess the relevance of the Russian Revolution and Stalin's later triumph, which marred the name of socialism with a hideously undemocratic "bureaucratic collectivism," in Harrington's phrase.

Harrington's favorite model, the Swedish Social Democrats, fared better in power than other socialists during the Great Depression. That was partly because they were gradualists, willing to use strategies later identified as Keynesian to manage capitalism. They regarded capitalist

property less as a thing to be seized than as a bundle of functions, not all of which had to be socialized at the same time or to the same degree.

Worlds apart: Increasingly, especially after the Depression, laissez-faire capitalism was replaced by a new regulatory order—mass production, mass consumption, government management of the macroeconomy, welfare-state protections—that made capitalism more humane but left capitalists with key powers over investment. This "Fordist" regime (named after Henry Ford's mass-production techniques) stressed growth, not redistribution. But, Harrington argued, the dramatic internationalization of the economy in the decades after World War II eventually undermined these national strategies, with the most dramatic case being the quick collapse of the French Socialists after François Mitterrand's election in 1980. Third World "socialisms," Harrington believed, were often cruel jokes, appropriating little but the name from the socialist traditions as they battled extraordinary odds stacked against them by their colonial heritages and world markets dominated by transnational corporations.

But what is socialism? Despite his efforts, Harrington failed to provide a compelling answer. He evoked the socialist traditions and movements, but those were largely European, and Harrington curiously had little to say about the relevance of socialism in the U.S. He attempted to fuse the values and insights of the

labor-based social democrats, the anti-bureaucratic, feminist and environmental new left, and Keynes (who had a utopian streak despite his avowed defense of capitalism).

Harrington argued that if socialism is to mean anything, it must be internationalist and redistributive (within advanced economies as well as between them and the poor nations) and it must oppose speculation and favor "qualitative growth" that expands people's free time and their democratic participation. The goal of socialism, he wrote, is "quality economic growth by means of increasing social justice and democratic participation."

Socialism isn't necessarily nationalization. Harrington argues that socialism can use the market and actually better realize the full potential of markets than does capitalism. There are hints at what workers' pension funds (now among the worst speculators) might achieve

Harrington argued that if socialism is to mean anything it must expand democracy.

and Harrington offers a few other suggestions for socialist institutions, but in the end he puts forward no clear model of the "socialism" that he claimed to be humanity's potential salvation.

Rather, he took refuge in such ethical ideals as justice, equality, democracy, freedom and solidarity. Of course, socialism in the past always had been a shorthand way of trying to bundle together and reconcile these ideals while giving them a solid foundation in economic life. The ideals still resonate with many Americans, even if the concept of socialism doesn't. But if there's no clear socialist model, why not drop the word and just appeal to the ideals? Why not unbundle "socialism" into various ways of democratically gaining social control over different economic functions—including investment?

Planning a market, marketing a plan: The essays collected by Jon Elster and Karl Ove Moene in *Alternatives to Capitalism* will seem pedantic, dense and nitpicking to many intelligent readers. Elster and Moene are motivated by the desire to address the arguments of sophisticated academic defenders of capitalism as well as to provide guidance

for socialists.

Although most authors in the volume assume the existence of a market, John Roemer argues that even under the best conditions markets generate unacceptable inequality. Yet as Tamás Bauer shows, the emerging mixed economies in Eastern Europe create problems that call for greater use of the market, for example, to provide capital and credit. But Alec Nove argues that even in market socialism there will remain a need for central planning and public ownership of many economic enterprises. Most of the essays seem to envision some form of worker ownership or cooperatives as the key to a democratic socialist alternative, but the authors raise several important problems with cooperatives' typical behavior.

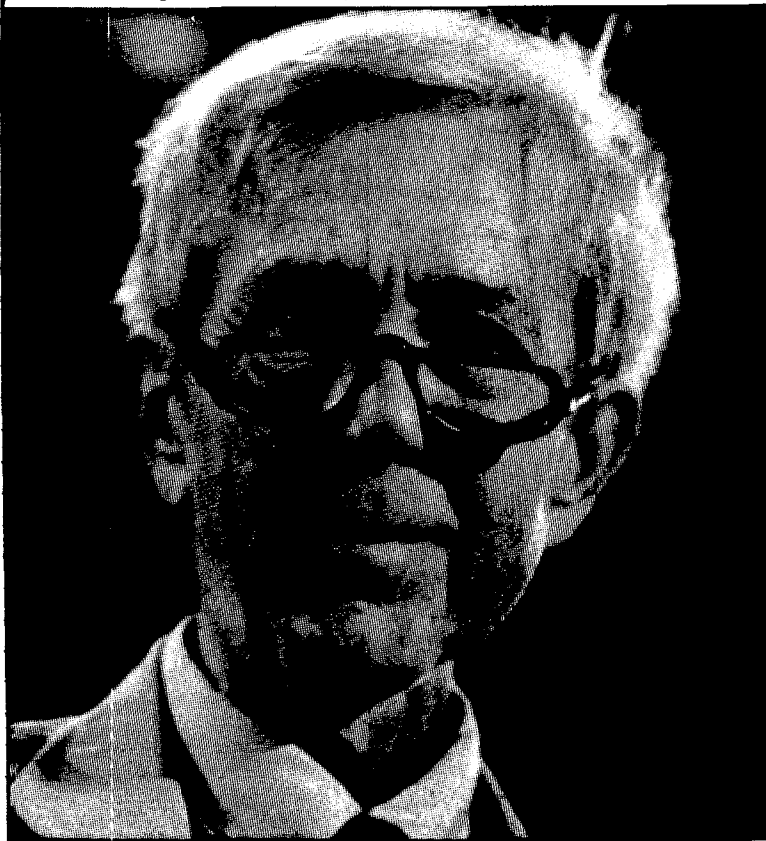
As the world economy becomes more integrated, its economies are likely to exist on some continuum of market/plan, private/government (or other public) ownership. And all will have to face, in varying ways, the same sort of problems of managing business cycles. But if the world system is primarily capitalist and is dominated by transnationals, the experiments in socialism may also end up being dominated and distorted by them.

Community land trusts, worker cooperatives and related institutions in the U.S. are offered as institutions "beyond the market and the state" (in a volume under that title from Temple University Press edited by Severyn T. Bruyn and James Meehan). But there seems little chance that these alternatives in the cracks of capitalist society can transform the overall structure in the way that capitalist trading in the cracks of European medieval society transformed feudalism. And it is the structure as a whole—laws, taxes, finance institutions, culture—within which markets work that makes an incredible difference in what they deliver.

It is no longer as clear as it once seemed what institutions socialists would seek to create. It is also unclear who will be the major force for the ideals of justice and democracy. Harrington concluded that the differences within the mass of nominal "workers" in advanced society are so great that it no longer makes any sense to speak of "the working class" as the agent of change. Instead, some unspecified coalition must be created. But it isn't easy—and Harrington didn't try—to confront the practical political question of assembling that new coalition.

Socialism, even if it isn't called that, won't become intrinsically irrelevant because capitalism won't let it. But making it practically relevant is a major task of both mundane politics and the reconceptualization of alternatives to capitalism. Harrington's last testament may not have offered all the answers, but it points those who come after him in some promising directions. ■

Michael Harrington: eloquent, inspiring and provocative.



Socialism: Past and Future

Bold, personal summary:

Against all odds, the late Michael Harrington tried to keep the idea of socialism alive in a hostile U.S. through his writing, speaking and organizing. His final book, completed last summer before his death from cancer, is in many ways a political summation of a lifetime's work and hope. Eloquent, inspiring, provocative, like its author, *Socialism: Past and Present* provides a bold, personal summary history of socialist ideas, debates and practice. The book was designed to buttress Harrington's claim that socialism is the hope for human freedom and justice in the next century.

Marx was right, Harrington argued, that the development of the capitalist market leads toward a "socialization" of the economy, now manifest in the huge scale and ad-

Spiritual Warfare

By Sara Diamond
South End Press, 292 pp., \$12

By Eric Nelson

THE RHETORIC OF RELIGION HAS long been used to justify war, so it comes as little surprise that the ideological warriors of the Christian right speak of battles, not beliefs. Through acts of "spiritual warfare" like speaking in tongues and intense prayer, Christian "charismatics" confront the devil.

But Sara Diamond argues that the language transcends the metaphori-

RELIGION

cal. These Christians sound more like generals and defense contractors than preachers.

The head of the U.S. Center for World Missions likens the center to a "Pentagon for mission agencies around the world." A publisher of Christian literature refers to his wares as weapons of ideological warfare. "I am in ordnance. We sell ammo."

A tangled web: Diamond's *Spiritual Warfare* is a detailed yet readable compilation of a decade of research on the Christian right's political agenda. She reveals an organized and politically savvy movement that helped sweep Reagan into office in 1980 and launched Pat Robertson's presidential campaign. The movement manifests itself in complex webs of media organs, potent fundraising mechanisms and authoritarian church groups, and ultimately encompasses parts of the U.S. national security bureaucracy.

A sociologist and investigative reporter, Diamond draws some of her material from the mass mailings with which the Christian right so effectively solicits funds. She has also conducted hundreds of interviews with leaders and activists at annual religious broadcasting conventions and other right-wing gatherings. Writing in a lucid, muckraking style, Diamond emphasizes foreign policy. As a result she transcends the focus on U.S. electoral politics and the heavy-handed sociology that has mired previous work on the subject.

Diamond nonetheless asserts that fundamentalist missionary activity in the Third World is not divorced from the life of the average American. Christian right groups lobby for conservative stands on abortion, equitable pay and civil rights even as they launch private foreign-aid programs aimed at bolstering right-wing regimes. "Some analysts," Diamond notes, "have focused almost exclusively on the social agenda of the movement, without recognizing that conservatism on the domestic front is used as a bridge to build support for anti-communist military intervention."

That bridge has yet to crumble, even in the wake of televangelist sinners like Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart. While these latter-day



The right stuff: Pat Robertson made the move from the evangelical margins to the political mainstream.

The international affront: Christian right and wrongs

Elmer Gantrys have brought attention to the movement, Diamond argues that the coverage they garnered deflected attention from their real agenda. "Adultery and financial impropriety rank as more significant news commodities for most media professionals and consumers of mass culture than the far more significant day-to-day movement of the Christian right in foreign and domestic matters."

Smoke screen of sin: For example, lost in the newsprint and air-time devoted to Jimmy Swaggart's tryst with a prostitute was his ministry's support for RENAMO, the South African-backed insurgent organization that has starved Mozambique and killed 100,000 people in the last five years. And Jim Bakker's outrageous financial abuse, for which he was recently convicted, and his well-publicized "sex-capades" received more attention than the powerful media organ he abused. Religious broadcasting is a \$2-billion-a-year industry with 1,000 full-time radio stations and 200 full-time TV stations in the U.S. Christian media is the rock that anchors fundamentalist political and social action.

Of the three largest Christian networks, the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) and Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) are the most active internationally. TBN has recently opened stations in South Africa, El Salvador, Honduras, Brazil and Bolivia. Rob-

ertson's CBN maintains high-level contacts in the U.S. intelligence community. CBN was particularly active in Oliver North's private fundraising efforts for the Nicaraguan contras, spending \$400,000 on air-time lobbying for aid. During one episode of Robertson's talk show, *The 700 Club*, the evangelist referred to Salvadoran death-squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson as a "very nice fellow."

These fundraising and propaganda activities are matched with equal zeal by the U.S. shepherding movement. "Shepherding" involves authoritarian "cell" groups in which charismatics, those who claim to practice supernatural acts, devote strict obedience to their pastor. These rigidly structured cells promote "civic action" programs in El Salvador and Guatemala. Diamond quotes Brother John Steer of the Texas-based Paralife Ministries telling Salvadoran troops that "killing because it was necessary to fight against an anti-Christ system, communism, was not only right but the duty of every Christian."

Former Guatemalan head of state Gen. Efraim Rios Montt has been embraced by the Christian media, and the shepherding movement claims credit for converting the general whose regime killed as many as 10,000 Indians. Aided by the Pentacostal "Gospel Outreach" based in Northern California, and its affiliated Verbo Church, Rios Montt took office in 1982 and Gospel Outreach mis-

sionaries helped legitimize his genocide. One Verbo Church pastor told a group of North American journalists that "the army doesn't massacre Indians. It massacres demons, and the Indians are possessed; they are communists. We hold Brother Efraim Rios Montt like King David of the Old Testament."

Kingdom come: Diamond's section on Central America illuminates the far right's modus operandi. She speaks of their Guatemalan activities in the early '80s, which continue today, as a "dry run" for supporting the contras. Moreover, Rios Montt's bloody hold on Guatemala "rein-

Christian right conservatism is used as a bridge to build support for anti-communist military intervention.

forced a mentality within born-again circles that they could seize the reins of power and install—by force, if necessary—a 'Kingdom of God on earth.'"

Diamond's gutsy book sketches a segment of the religious right that seeks deliverance from a communist Antichrist (and from imminent apocalypse) by marching in step with the

Third World's most sinister dictators. Diamond documents Christian right ties to the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby and Gen. John Singlaub's World Anti-Communist League, among others.

Also revealing are fundamentalist Christian ties to the Pentagon, the Agency for International Development, the State Department, the National Endowment for Democracy and the CIA. It is estimated that 25 percent of all missionaries are regularly debriefed by the CIA. The 1984 "Denton Amendment" (sponsored by Republican Sen. Jeremiah Denton of Alabama) obligates the Pentagon to ship "private humanitarian aid" donated largely by right-wing church groups still intent on supporting the contras based on Honduras.

Diamond's clear explanations of the theological schisms among "charismatics," Christian "Reconstructionists," "millennialists" and "tribulationists" are instrumental to the discussion of division in the ranks. For the movement is not without internal debate. Criticizing the political liabilities of Armageddon "doomsday" theologies, one Reconstructionist admits, "Bug-out theology does not produce armies, only refugees."

As the Cold War thaws and makers of foreign policy shift their sights to the war of "hearts and minds" in the Third World, reactionary religion and "low-intensity conflict" easily embrace one another. It is time for Americans to take a look at their communities, their televisions and the entire "global village" and see what fundamentalist religion has wrought.

Eric Nelson is a journalist living in San Francisco.

IN THE ARTS

On the Passage of a Few People Through a Rather Brief Moment in Time: The Situationist International 1957-1972

Exhibit: Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, Oct. 20-Jan. 7
Catalogue: MIT Press
200 pp., \$24.95

By Martha Buskirk

HUMANITY WON'T BE HAPPY until the last bureaucrat is hanged with the guts of the last capitalist." "Down with the spectacle-commodity society." "Power to the workers' councils."

This was the writing on the walls of Paris in May 1968. And these slogans, like many others, originated with the Situationist International (SI)—a small avant-garde group which, in the decade or so prior to 1968, had articulated a cogent critique of their society's enslavement to commodity fetishism.

Despite the excitement they generated in 1968, however, the situationists have not received much attention in histories of the period. In English translation, Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* and Ken Knabb's *Situationist International Anthology* have provided the only real access to their thought. This is starting to change, though, under the

ART

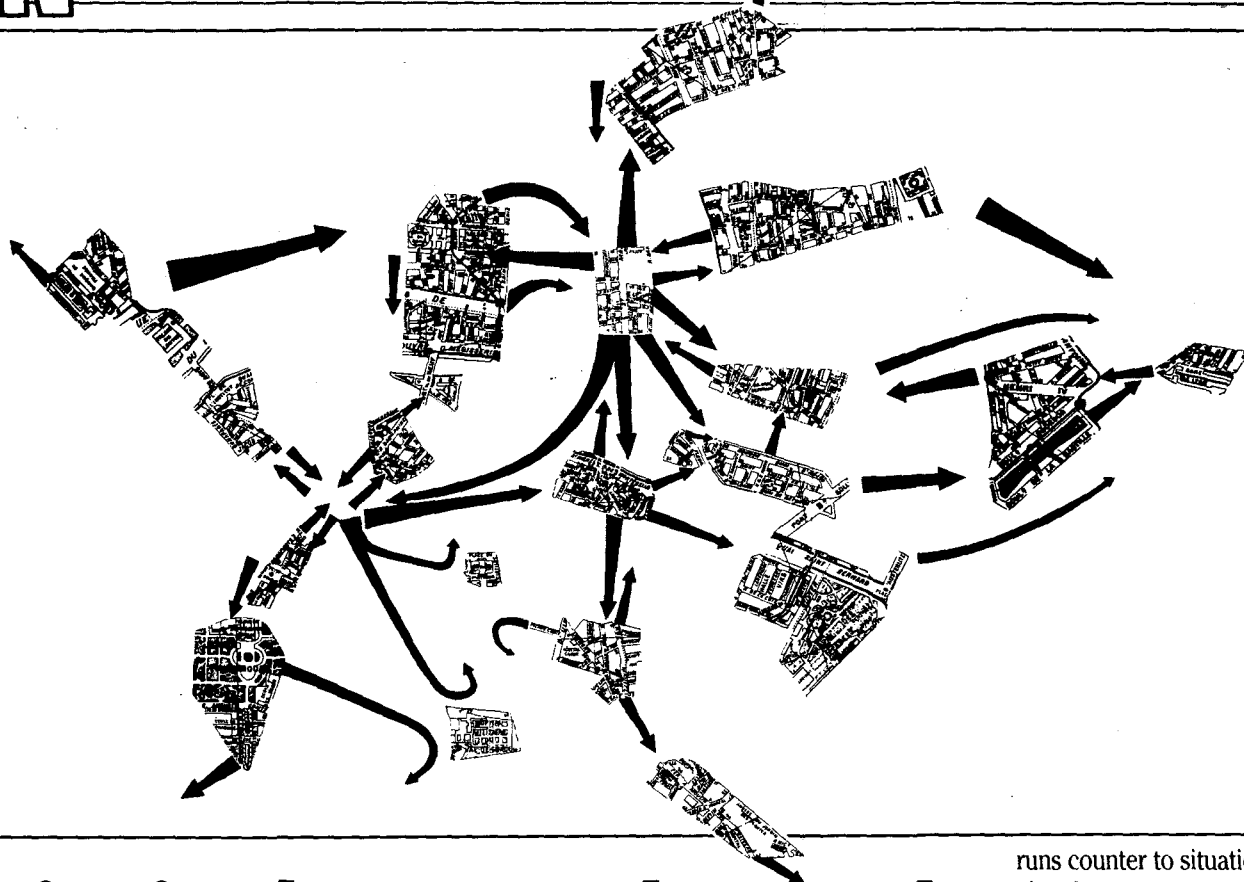
influence of both *On the Passage of a Few People Through a Rather Brief Moment in Time* (the SI exhibition currently at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston) and Greil Marcus' *Lipstick Traces* (a book in which Marcus sketches the history of the SI in order to establish an avant-garde pedigree for the Sex Pistols).

Spectacular success: The SI was formed in 1957 through the amalgamation of several other avant-garde groups, including the Lettrist International and the International Movement for an Imagist Bauhaus. Like the lettrists—and unlike more traditional Marxists, with their focus on production—the situationists emphasized the importance of everyday life as a sphere for critique and intervention.

They used the term "spectacle" to describe a society in which existence is continually mediated by images designed to promote consumption. Given the pervasiveness of the spectacle, intervention had to take place on all levels of existence.

One situationist strategy was the act of *détournement*, or misappropriation. This term was initially used in relation to aesthetic productions, which, the situationists argued, should be reappropriated or misused in ways that would help break down the distinction between art and life. Also important was what they called "psychogeography": the situationists would drift aimlessly

On the Passage of a Few People Through a Rather Brief Moment in Time: The Situationist International 1957-72



Situationists' spectacular work makes paradoxical museum fare

through cities, often for days at a time, looking for telling gaps in the smooth flow of commerce.

SI members were required to respond to all aspects of life with situationist strategies. Rather than seeking converts, the SI enforced critical engagement through frequent expulsions. The emphasis on engagement can be seen, for example, in a statement by Raoul Vaneigem at the fifth SI conference in 1962: "It is a question not of elaborating the spectacle of refusal, but rather of refusing the spectacle." At this same conference the SI declared art production "anti-situationist" because it tended to take place in a separate sphere from revolutionary activity.

All of these were attempts to contest the passivity encouraged by a spectacular society. In this respect, the emphasis on participation by the SI can be compared to the participatory democracy espoused in the U.S. by the Students for a Democratic Society. But unlike the SDS, the SI also responded to precedents set by previous artistic avant-garde movements in Europe.

Enter the institution: Given the SI's emphasis on intervention rather than passive consumption, the exhibition of situationist materials within the museum framework is a highly ambiguous undertaking. It is paradoxical on the one hand because the SI's 1962 renunciation of artistic production meant that the organizers had to rely on pamphlets, journals and occasional posters to illustrate 10 of the SI's 15 years of existence. But it is also paradoxical due to the very nature of the museum as an institution.

The show's curators and designers responded to this contradiction with a non-traditional presentation: paintings, posters and pamphlets are intermixed with situationist slogans painted on the walls. The floors are covered in curving and overlapping

The situationists advocated the creative misuse of aesthetic conventions.

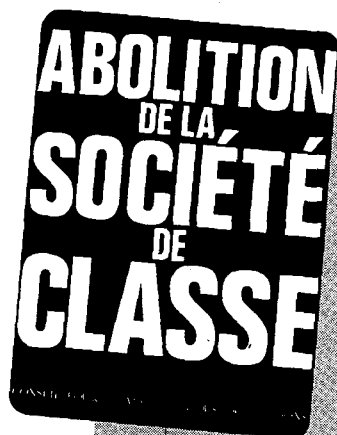
arrows that divert rather than lead the viewer, and displays jut out into the room, forcing the viewer to navigate around them. Written on these walls, however, situationist slogans read very differently than they did in 1968.

There are also some humorous juxtapositions. Near the entrance to the exhibition, for example, one is greeted by the sight of the situationist slogan "It is forbidden to forbid" painted on the wall in large letters directly over the guard's chair.

Further into the exhibition, the wall text, quoting painter Asger Jorn, urges us to make the old new, to "modernize it with a few strokes of the brush." This was Jorn's own technique in the paintings displayed nearby—anonymous paintings purchased at flea markets that Jorn "detoured" through partial repainting. But though the works on display are more than 20 years old by now, it hardly seems likely that we are meant to follow Jorn's instructions and modernize the paintings anew,

particularly those on loan from museum collections.

The most startling juxtaposition, though, is one not seen by the daytime visitor but merely suggested. Like other museums, Boston's Institute of Contemporary Art raises money by renting out its space for private functions after hours. This it encourages with a brochure that reads in part: "Surrounded by the latest painting and sculpture, your guests will be inspired and intrigued.... The result will be an evening of elegance and style that raises entertaining to an art." How would the SI have responded to the sight of Boston's moneyed trendsetters sipping champagne in front of posters calling for the abolition of class society? One shudders to think.



Abolish history? The situationist response to the danger of co-optation was often one of refusal or silence. In addition to their repudiation of art in 1962, their 1972 decision to dissolve the SI as a group was, at least in part, a reaction against problems created by their success and popularity in 1968.

Although a museum exhibition

runs counter to situationist philosophy, there are strong arguments for presenting SI material to the public. If, as Debord has contended, one effect of the spectacle is to eradicate history, particularly recent history, then it seems important, despite all contradictions, to mount exhibitions such as this.

And this show does a good job of introducing SI ideas to visitors willing to spend time making connections between objects on display and the explanatory materials. In this respect the U.S. version of the exhibition (which arrived in Boston after stops in Paris and London) is very different from the French version. In Paris, the objects were presented with neither explanatory labels nor catalogue (and the exhibition was roundly criticized for that). The Boston show goes to the opposite extreme: visitors are even greeted by orientation videos in the lobby.

Anti-situationist this may be. But the 20-odd years since 1968 have seen the rise of an ever-more-cynical commercialism eager to cash in on the latest *détournement*. Over and over again we have witnessed this month's subculture styles and misappropriations become next month's marketing strategies.

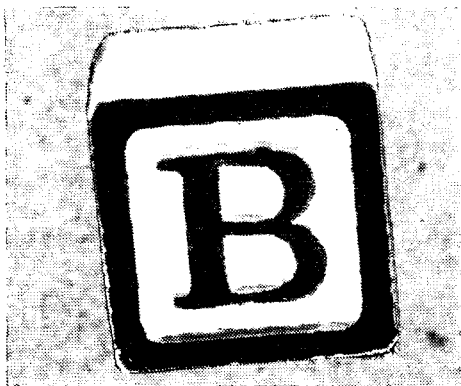
Given the changes of the last two decades, some situationist strategies for resisting co-optation seem to belong in the museum. But in the midst of the current vogue for '60s revivals, it is clear that the SI offered one of the period's most carefully articulated critiques of the political and economic underpinnings of the society of the spectacle. For this reason, it is important to understand SI works and ideas in relation to their specific historical context. We can also hope that the renewed attention given to the SI will encourage others to adopt what is still relevant in their critique to current political engagement.

Martha Buskirk teaches art history at New York University.

Bureaucracy

Continued from page 24

sesses, by the way, a monopoly on the product it sells within the territory it serves) experienced, according to its own administrators, "a financial exigency." Translated, this meant that a \$600,000 contingency fund, hoarded over the years, evaporated com-



pletely; that the 1985-86 budget ended up \$900,000 in the red; that the 1986-87 budget projected \$100,000-plus "shortfalls"; that raises were held to 2 percent in 1986, nothing in 1987.

Parkinson's Law: What happened was another manifestation of Parkinson's Law, which states: "Work expands to fill the available time." Things haven't changed since Parkinson formulated this principle in 1957. People tend to stay busy, no matter how much real work they have. Further, they tend to create more jobs like their own and, in turn, create still more work to justify those creations.

As one instance, take ECC's instructional division, the administrative unit responsible for ensuring that students actually receive the education they contract for. In 1970 it consisted of just three people: a dean, his assistant and a secretary. By 1986 the division still had one dean, but the one secretary had replicated thrice. And, in a classic example of what Carl Icahn calls "the insulating layers of middle bureaucracy" (or what Parkinson observed was the tendency of an official "to multiply subordinates, not rivals"), the single assistant dean not only had a clone, but the pair of them had, somehow, managed to produce offspring: no less than three "administrative assistants."

ECC's other administrative units betrayed identical symptoms, but, perhaps worse, two new administrative units metastasized, Student Services and a creature called Community Development, each, naturally, headed by an additional dean or the equivalent and employing still more assistants and secretaries.

The bureaucratic bottom line: 1986's 2,908 students were administered by 37 full-time staff (not counting part-time student help, which, thanks to the generosity of the federal bureaucracy, grew steadily apace), while, back in the good old days, the original 476 had been administered by just six.

Since the customers increased roughly sixfold, six multiplying into 37 might not seem out of place, and since the school offered additional services—job placement, more counseling and advisement, etc.—a mere fivefold increase might appear a paradigm of efficiency.

But our bureaucratic bark now grounds on the shoals of two other, intractable, numbers: six and three.

Lessons of efficiency: At one end of ECC's chain of command lies ECC's board of trustees, which in 1969 consisted of six members. In 1987 it still contained six members. Naturally, you say: decisions are just as easy

for one (or six) as two (or a dozen), so six people can just as easily boss a college with 3,000 customers as one with 500. And, you might add, implementing those decisions could just possibly take many more employees.

Possibly. But let's look at the other end of the chain, in the trenches. Since whatever and wherever and whenever a bureaucracy administers, in the end, hopefully, it must administer *something*, then a college, in that end, must teach students. That makes the teacher the academic equivalent of the army's combat infantryman, or GMC's assembly-line worker. And that brings up our last number:

Three. The number of English teachers the college employed during its first year in business.

Three. The number of English teachers the college employed during 1987.

Three. It's called, in the language of one of those administrators who now occupies a position that didn't even exist until the last "reorganization" a few years ago, "increasing productivity of staff time."

And if "staff" actually means teachers, productivity has done OK in most of the other traditional academic departments too. In 1970 ECC employed one instructor each in psychology, sociology, economics, philosophy and foreign language, two each in biology, history, chemistry. And it still does. Those teachers might be excused for wondering how they handle up to six times as many customers with little additional help, while the so-called "support staff" can't. Is support so much tougher than teaching? And even granting that some of that additional support was necessary to attract students. Still, 600 percent more services? Six hundred percent tougher to administer? While the basic mechanism for production, the teaching staff, remains essentially static?

Could Chrysler or GM produce six times as many cars, with the same number of blue-collar workers, while frittering away that productive advantage by increasing its white-collar staff by a factor of six? Come to think of it, maybe that's why people now buy Japanese. Low productivity may involve more than a widget-welder goofing off on the line. Maybe the American worker supports too many drones?

Consultants, for instance. Carl Icahn has hired just one in his entire corporate raiding career. ECC's former administration hired no

fewer than five in the space of two years. Doctors Fox and Hunter, two Ph.D.s from the state university system, spent three days regaling ECC's faculty and staff with charts, graphs, brainstorming sessions and theories on... Strange to say, but some three years later, most people can't remember what they consulted about.

Was it "institutional development?"

Was it "institutional reorganization?"

"Institutional marketing?"

Ah, yes. The buzz phrase comes back: they were experts on "strategic planning" (as opposed, no doubt, to the non-strategic kind).

When it's not spreading, you see, the Bureaucratic Thing is also into English abuse. Those who do nothing must, after all, justify their titles, salaries, degrees and reputations, and so produce not just more paper but more impressive *sounding* paper. From doctors Fox and Hunter, for example, came

"Conceptually the planning model for the Division of Instruction is a dynamic, interactive paradigm which features students and faculty interacting in an instructional environment underpinned by curricular and cultural experiences ..."

a 30-page document, spiral-bound, entitled "Strategic Planning Recommendations" that produced such gems as: "promote, facilitate and coordinate," and "a variety of career programs on a level recognized for a career-sustaining employment."

Babble on: Or, from another "planning document," 11 pages long, prepared for yet another "re-evaluation of the college mission": "Conceptually the planning model for the Division of Instruction is a dynamic, interactive paradigm which features students and faculty interacting in an instructional environment underpinned by curricular and cultural experiences that produce student learning and training which culminate in transfer, job placement and continuing education."

In other words, the mission of a college is to teach. Alas, such simple words take almost no time to write, to type, to reproduce, to read. In essence, they need neither reading nor writing, and so would expand to fill no time at all. But contemplate the earnest working hours necessary to compose, revise, produce, proof and reproduce "conceptually the planning model..." etc., and you see the bureaucratic mind at work.

Just as you see it in a flow chart issued to all faculty and administrators, mapping out where to send a first-time visitor to a campus that is, for all of its administrators' building bug, just four buildings and one information desk.

Or as you see it in a \$700,000 computer system with enough capacity to mastermind World War III—but not enough to do the college payroll.

Or in the fact that each department, according to a memo a few years ago, had to have at least two formal meetings per semester, complete with minutes, *and* with copies of those minutes "forwarded to the appropriate authority." (Since many "departments" at ECC have only one member, such meetings would have been an interesting experiment in stream of consciousness.)

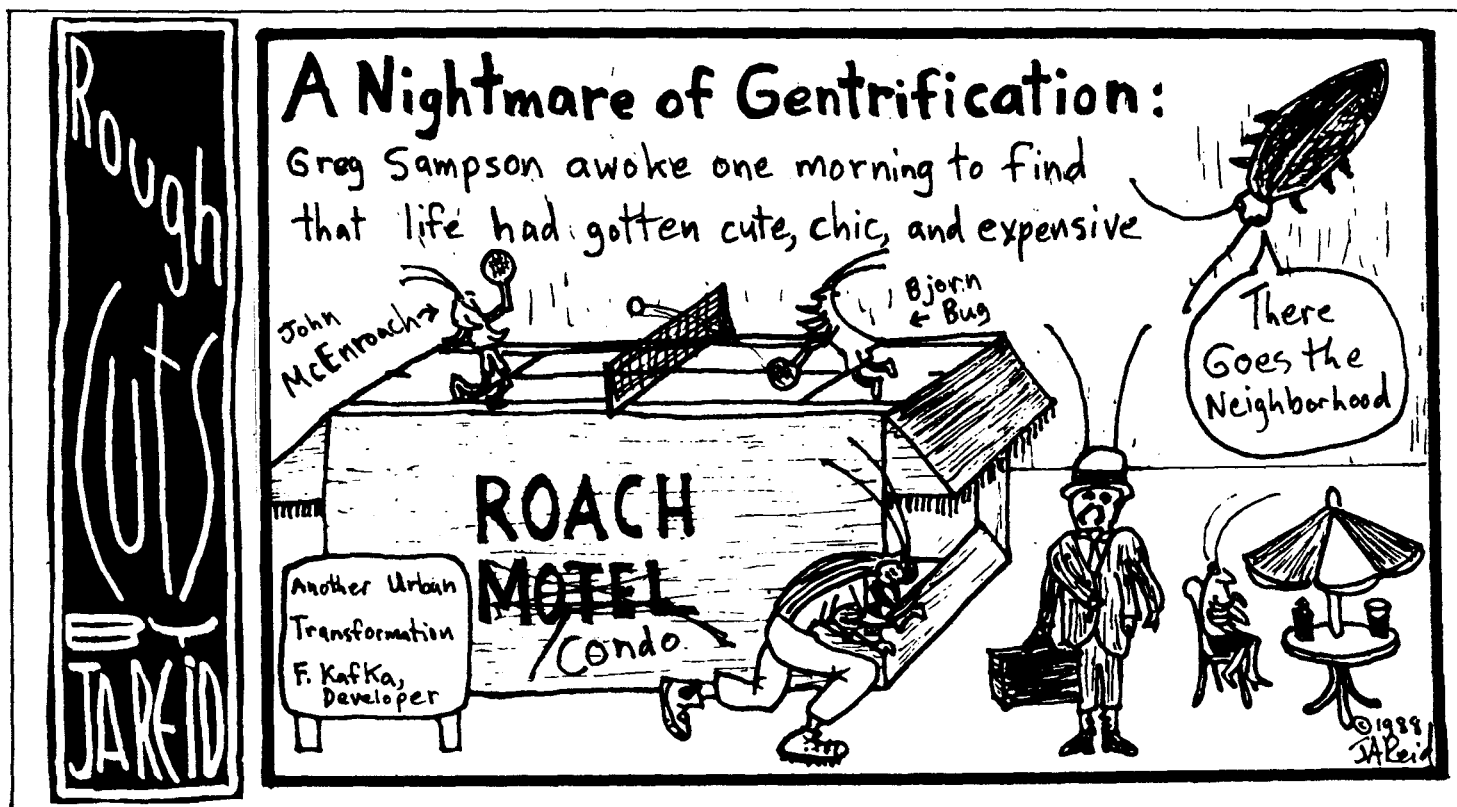
Or where attendance at monthly faculty meetings was "verified," where committees would regularly meet, listen to administrators expound on what everyone already knew they were doing—or not doing—and then adjourn until the next monthly meeting.

Or where the outgoing president, who spent 18 years referring to himself as "the chief budget officer," leaves the college 900,000 smackers in the red, where "negative growth patterns" were regularly predicted while students proliferated like mushrooms in a hot Missouri spring.

Yet work still goes on at ECC. In the belly of the bureaucracy, some few poorly paid and almost totally ignored workers keep trying to...work. It's all they know how to do.

But, hey, look at the brighter side: if the macrocosm doesn't work like the microcosm doesn't, no way World War III will ever come off. Maybe our SDI will never work properly, but neither will theirs. We may never reach the moon again, but, if we don't strangle on the red tape necessary to gain it, we'll all comfortably access to our retirement communities.

Robert L. Mahon, a teacher at ECC, is not at all bitter. No, really.



Pittston

Continued from page 9

refer to as their Martin Luther King Jr. "All the laws are against them. A lot of people in Alabama felt as strongly about segregation laws as many people in Virginia feel about the right-to-work law." When companies can easily hire replacement workers, Roberts says, there is a gross imbalance of economic power and no effective right to strike.

In the months before the strike, Roberts read Taylor Branch's book *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years*. He regularly compares the strike to the civil-rights movement when making speeches to the virtually all-white crowds of strikers. "If the black community changed the terrible situation of segregation against tremendous odds, against the state and federal government, in the face of the Bull Connors," he says, "if the black population could change

such an evil system through non-violent civil disobedience, surely we can change labor law."

Despite repeated press references to violence in the strike, it is remarkable how effectively the union has maintained non-violent discipline despite much underlying sympathy for "the old way" of stopping scab coal by any means available. Roberts and other union leaders have repeatedly argued that non-violence attracts supporters, and the union needs widespread support to win. Violence, the union leaders warn, simply plays into the hands of the company, while non-violence adds to the workers' moral advantage in the dispute.

Workers have overwhelmingly been won over, but many local residents thought strikers and their families were crazy to sit down in front of 60-ton coal trucks. "Mostly older miners don't understand why we don't do it the way we always did," says Shirley Harri-

son. "My dad said, 'If you're going to go to jail, go for something to go to jail for, not sitting in the road.'"

"But," adds her husband Raymond, "we wouldn't have had people from Belgium, California, New York, Wales coming in here if we were doing it the old way, blowing up trucks, railroads, tipples—and we could have done it."

Strikers and supporters argue that many reported acts of violence are suspicious set-ups by the company, and that they have seen police or Vance guards—one of whom was recently convicted—throw rocks or jack-rocks. They also report Vance guards invading their property as well as violence against their homes and cars.

"We've had a little rocking vehicles and jackrocking," admits striker Roy Castle, a 43-year veteran miner and respected church deacon, "but I don't consider that violence. Violence is turning over vehicles and beating

up scabs. Not that I wouldn't mind roughing a few of them up. These scabs are coming in and taking my job. Scabs laugh at you, say filthy things about you, hold up their wallets and point to them—and you feel like picking up a rock and laying it to them. But I believe this is the most well-conducted strike I've ever heard of."

The strike has cost the UMW about \$4 million a month, not counting the fines. Recently Judge McGlothlin took an astounding step in appointing two Pittston lawyers as special court commissioners to collect the fines immediately, even though most are owed to local governments and are under appeal. The fines have slowed but not stopped the union's civil resistance.

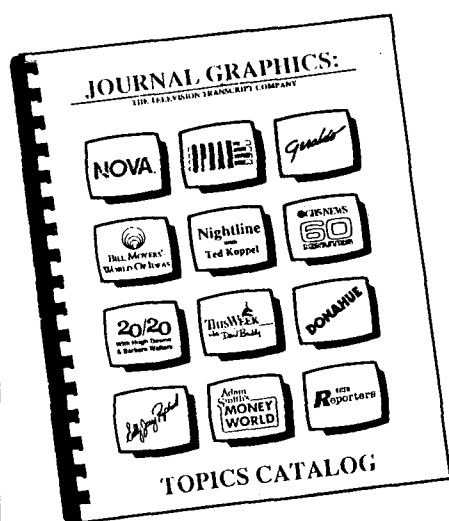
Already the strike has been successful in changing how people think and act. "When we win, we intend to change this system," says Fred Castle. "We want to see politicians changed to have a friendlier attitude to labor, and we'll change some labor laws."

Many Pittston miners see themselves as fighting now for other workers as well. "If we whip Pittston so bad, and I know we will, maybe other corporations will back off," says Hicks. "We'll go after [Texas Air Chairman Frank] Lorenzo next. I ain't afraid to sit down in front of an airplane. I sat down in front of a coal truck."

"I fight so somewhere down the road my son and grandson won't have to go through this," he continues. "My father and grandfather put me on easy street by handing the union to us. We don't have no right to give up one thing in that contract our fathers and grandfathers fought for. [Pittston Coal Group president] Mike Odom says he can hold out two years. He's a liar. But if he does, we'll be here two years and a day."

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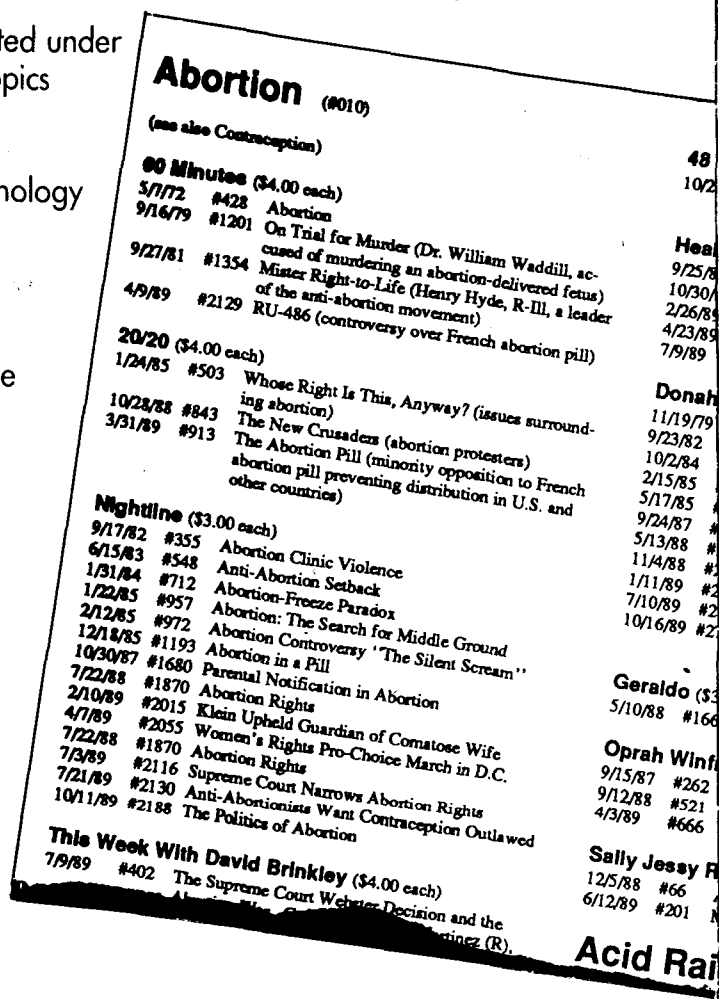


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PERFORMANCE: WOMANSONG AND MARA GOODMAN; Saturday, Nov. 18; 8 p.m.; \$10.
REALPOETIK; Readings by Elliot Katz and Maureen Owen; Sunday, Nov. 19; 3 p.m.; \$6.

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C L A S S I F I E D S

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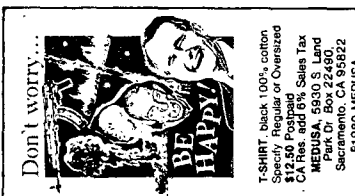
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This is a story of the little
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Could grow, that is. After all, a bureaucracy's generic imperative is about the same as The Thing That Ate Cleveland's.

We are conditioned, of course, to think of bureaucracies writ large: the federal bureaucracy, the Pentagon, General Motors, all those famous elephants that have never learned, in Ross Perot's apt phrase, to tap dance. The very notion, of course, lends itself to this macro-cosmic view, since the word connotes excess, complexity, bloat.

But since, as Thoreau put it, the way to really know a phenomenon is to camp down by it, let's take the microcosmic approach and look closely at a smaller, more intimate, human-scaled bureaucracy.

Let's look at Union, Missouri's East Central College, where I teach.

In fact, let's start with its name, which was not always East Central College. At its baptism in 1969, it was East Central Junior College. The name was changed a few years ago, at the cost of some confusion in the community it serves ("Are you guys a four-year school now?"), and no little expense (repainted and replaced signs, new stationery, numerous meetings held to "implement" the change). It was decided that the institution's image would be enhanced by dropping the word "junior"—in short, with its new alias, the school would now sound like a real college.

Administration—a growth industry: Just as this obsession with image over performance is one of the classic bureaucratic hallmarks, so too is a fascination with buildings. Since its birth 18 years ago in a borrowed auditorium, East Central College (ECC) has accumulated four buildings, with a fifth on the drawing board. Each succeeding model, of course, was purchased more dearly and with more options than the previous, and with the old buildings constantly remodeled and refurbished to keep up. Despite this, the college has always suffered from a chronic shortage of classroom space. Typically, the latest addition, optimistically (and misleadingly) labeled "The Classroom Building," an impressive, million-dollar-plus, two-story affair, netted exactly two additional classrooms—one per story.

All of this might be explained by ECC's growth, which has been steady and impressive. It opened those borrowed doors to 476 students with an administrative staff of one president, one dean, one assistant to someone or other and three secretaries. By 1986, the last full year for which statistics are available, its parking lots (themselves expanded three times) bulged with the cars of 2,908 students, a sixfold increase, and it had experienced two successive years of record-setting enrollment increases.

During those two years, as a sort of marshino cherry topping off this sundae of a success story, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported that ECC was the state's fastest-growing community college, with an enrollment increase of more than 18 percent. (Nor was this the first time the press had noticed: a few years earlier the school was cited in the *Wall Street Journal* as a model of a successful, swiftly growing community college.)

In addition, ECC's three sources of funding—local property taxes, direct state aid and student fees—also increased substantially; the last, for instance, almost doubled from \$10 to \$18 per credit hour. East Central showed all the signs of success: selling a product so popular that even as it increased prices by 80 percent it sold 600 percent more.

Yet this same institution (which also pos-

Continued on page 21